The High, Puiſsant, & most noble Prince, James Duke of Hamilton
in the Kingdom of Scotland, Duke of Brandon in England, & Duke of
Chatteherault in France, Marquis of Clidsdale, Earl of Arran, Lanerk &
Cambridge, Lord Aven, Polmont, Machanshire, & Innerdale Baron of Dutton,
in England K.G. of ye most noble Order of ye Garter, & of ye most ancient & noble Orde
of ye Thistle; One of her Maj.ties most Hon.ble privy Council, Master Gen.l of ye Ordnance, Lord
L.t Vice Admiral, Custos Rotulorum, & cheif Ranger of ye Forests, of ye County Palatine
Lancaster & named Plenipotentary, & Embass.dor extraordinary from her Maj.ty to ye Cou
of France upon ye conclusion of ye Peace.

J.n. V.r Gucht Sculp.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE and FAMILY

Of the Moſt Illuſtrious

JAMES

Late DUKE of

HAMILTON.

WHEREIN

Beſides many other Curious Particulars, is inſerted a Copy of the LETTER ſent by his GRACE, to his Son the Marquis of CLIDSDALE, in *Scotland*, the Night before he Fought the Duel with the Lord MOHUN.

LONDON:

Printed for T. WARNER, at the *Black-Boy* in *Pater-Noſter-Row.* 1717.

Price Two Shillings.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
FROM THE LIBRARY OF
HAROLD MURDOCK
JUNE 1935

THE

LIFE

Of the moſt Illuſtrious

JAMES,

Duke of *Hamilton*, &c.

THIS moſt Noble and Illuſtrious Family of *Hamilton*, however ſeated in *Scotland*, is of a very Antient and Noble *Engliſh* Extraction, Deſcended from the *Bellemonts*, who were Earls of *Leiceſter* ſoon after the Conqueſt, and ſo continued many Generations. The Head of the *Hamilton* Line, was Sir *William de Hambleton*, (ſo called from the Manor of *Hambleton*, in the County of *Bucks*,) who was third Son of *Robert de Bellemonte*, Earl of *Leiceſter*,

ceſter, Surnamed *Blanchmains*, or *White-Hands*; a Man of great Experience and Reputation in the Wars, by *Petronel* his Wife, Daughter and Heir of *Hugh de Grentemeſnil*, Lord of *Hinkley*, in whoſe Right he had the ſaid Lordſhip of *Hinkley*, and the Stewardſhip of *England*.

This Sir *William de Hambleton*, went into *Scotland* about the Time of *Henry* II. where his Second Brother *Roger*, was Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, and Chancellor of *Scotland*; and his Siſter *Margaret* married to *Saher de Quincy*, Earl of *Wincheſter*, and Conſtable of *England*. Here he married *Mary*, only Daughter and Heir of *Gilbert* Earl of *Strathern*, and became poſſeſſed of a very fair Inheritance: But the frequent Wars between the Two Nations of *England* and *Scotland*, ſoon after breaking out, it obliged him to return to *England*, by which he forfeited his Eſtate, he being an *Engliſhman*, and an Enemy to *Scotland*.

Sir *Gilbert*, his Son, about the Time of *Alexander* II. King of *Scotland*, returned again into *Scotland*, and was kindly receiv'd by that Prince, and had in Recompence of his Father's Eſtate ſo forfeited, conſiderable Lands given him in that Realm, among which was *Hamilton*, the preſent Seat of that Family. He married the Niece of *Robert Bruce*, King of *Scotland*, and was ſucceeded by Sir *Walter Hambleton*, his Son and Heir, who was one of thoſe Eminent

Scots-

Scots-Men, that Subſcribed the *Ragman* Roll, *Anno* 1294, where he writes himſelf *Walter Fitz-Gilbert de Hambleton.*

Sir *David Hamilton*, his Son, was one of thoſe, who having fought very bravely at the Battle of *Durham*, was there taken Priſoner with King *David Bruce*, and delivered into the keeping of the Archbiſhop of *York*. He was after a Member of the Parliament, when the two great Entails of the Crown were made, one *Anno* 1370, and the other 1373. His Name is inſerted in the one, and his Seal affix'd to the other. He died about the Year 1375.

This Sir *David* was Great-Grandfather to Sir *James de Hambleton*, who by Ordinance of Parliament, was created a Peer of *Scotland*, by the Title of Lord *Hamilton*, in the Year 1445. This Lord *Hamilton*, was one of the Hoſtages for the Payment of the Ranſom of King *James* I. and likewiſe one of the Commiſſioners to treat of a Peace with *England*, which was thereon happily concluded; and he was after in conſtant Truſt and Reputation by his Prince.

James, the Second Lord *Hamilton*, his Son and Heir, was frequently employed by King *James* II. in managing and concluding Treaties with *England*, as an Ambaſſador, and in particular concluded the Treaty at *Alnwyke*, *Anno* 1473. He was a very great Favourite of King *James* III. and a Man of great Courage and Magnanimity, which he

manifeſted on ſeveral Occaſions, whoſe Deſerts were rewarded by Conſent of Parliament, with the Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary*, Siſter to that King: By her he had *James*, who ſucceeded him, and a Daughter, *Elizabeth*, married to the Earl of *Lenox*.

James, the Third Lord *Hamilton*, was by King *James* IV. created Earl of *Arran*. He was ſent into *England* to Negotiate the Marriage betwixt that King and the Princeſs *Margaret*, Daughter to *Henry* VII. of *England*, and having concluded that Match, did in the moſt Pompous Manner Solemnize the ſame. The King was ſo ſenſible of his good Services, and great Expences in this Matter, that he granted to him the Iſland of *Arran*. This Earl was a Man of great Prudence and Courage; and was ſent with Three Thouſand Men to the Aſſiſtance of the King of *Denmark*, againſt the *Lubeckers*, whom he brought to ſubmit to that King's Terms. He was afterwards made Admiral of *Scotland*, and ſent with a conſiderable Force to the Aſſiſtance of the King of *France*, where he arrived ſafe, though he met with violent Storms, and did that Prince very conſiderable Services; and that King, in Reward of his good Services, made him Knight of the Order of the *Cockle*, and gave him a Penſion of Twelve Thouſand Livres *per Annum*, for his Life. During the Minority of King *James* V. *John*, Duke of *Albany*, was declared Governour of *Scotland*, as neareſt Rela-

Relation to the young King; but that Duke designing to take a Voyage into *France*, he appointed *James*, Archbishop of *Glasgow*, Chancellor. This *James*, Earl of *Arran*, *Alexander*, Earl of *Huntley*, *Colin*, Earl of *Argyle*, and *Anthony Darcy de la Bastie*, Knight, to be Regents of the Kingdom, during his Absence; but the other Regents, and Lords of Council, soon after, *viz.* the 24th of *September*, 1514, devolved all their Authority upon this Earl of *Arran*, to continue Regent during the Duke of *Albany*'s Absence; in which Time of his Regency, he concluded a Peace with *England*, suppressed several Insurrections, preserved good Order upon the Borders, and restored Peace and Quiet to the whole Countrey, and discharged that Office to universal Satisfaction; so that upon the Duke of *Albany*'s Second Voyage into *France*, he was again appointed Regent during his Absence, which he discharged very faithfully.

James, the Fourth Lord *Hamilton*, and Second Earl of *Arran*, was, though but young, one of those who attended King *James* V. of *Scotland*, into *France*, where that Prince was married to *Magdalene*, Daughter to the King of *France*, and was upon that King's Death, declared Governour of *Scotland*, and Tutor to the Infant Queen *Mary*. Soon after his Advancement to this Dignity, he called a Parliament, and he was by them, as nearest Kinsman of the Blood

Blood-Royal of *Scotland*, declared rightful Tutor to the Queen by a ſpecial Act: By a Second Act of the ſame Parliament, he was declared Governour of the Queen and Kingdom during her Infancy; and by a Third Act, declared to be Second Perſon of the Kingdom, next Heir to the Queen, and failing in her, by Deceaſe, without Heirs of her own Body, to be rightful and undoubted King of the Realm of *Scotland*. Theſe Three Acts paſt unanimouſly, and were by a ſpecial Ordinance, appointed to be extended or engroſſed upon a Sheet of Parchment, and the Great-Seal of *Scotland*, together with the Seals of the whole Members of Parliament, as well Clergy as Laity, to be affixed thereto. Theſe Acts ſo Extended and Sealed, are now in the Cuſtody of Her Grace, the Dutcheſs of *Hamilton*.

This Earl ſoon after concluded a Treaty of Peace between *England* and *Scotland*, and likewiſe a Treaty of Marriage between the Prince of *Wales*, and the Infant, Queen of *Scots*; but King *Henry* VIII. making ſeveral Additional Demands after the Treaty was concluded, to which the Governour would by no Means comply, the Treaty proved abortive, and the Parliament of *Scotland*, the 11th of *December*, 1542, declared the King of *England* had broken and violated the Treaty, and therefore not to be kept on the Part of *Scotland*, by Law and Equity, and juſt Reaſon; and the young Queen was ſoon after

after ſent into *France*, and a Marriage concluded upon, between her and the *Dauphin* of *France*. In 1548, this Governour was made Knight of the Holy-Ghoſt, and created Duke of *Chaſtelherauld* in *France*, and his Right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *Scotland* was Acknowledged and Recognized by the King of *France*.

He continued Governour till 1555, that the young Queen being then of Age, choſe her own Curators, or Guardians, by whoſe Advice ſhe named her Mother to be Regent; and the Duke very willingly reſigned in her Favour, and laid down the Employment, which he had held to univerſal Satisfaction, for Twelve Years; and had his Conduct during all that Time, moſt Solemnly approved of by the Parliament of *Scotland*, and a very ample Teſtimony given him of the good Services he had done his Countrey; the Words of the Act are, 'That he, by his great La-'bours, vehement Expences, and Daily 'Danger of himſelf, his Kin, and Friends, 'had relieved their Sovereign's moſt Noble 'Perſon, from the cruel Purſuits of the 'King and Council of *England*, and had left 'free the whole Realm and Dominions of 'his ſaid Sovereign Lady, without any 'Part thereof withholden by her Highneſs's 'old Enemies, notwithſtanding the Aſſi-'ſtance given them by ſeveral of the Subjects 'of *Scotland*.

He

He was a mighty Favourer of the Reformation, and contributed very much to the Advancement of it in *Scotland*, but ſtill with that due Submiſſion to the Crown, that every Subject ought; and he continued very faithful to Queen *Mary* after her Return to *Scotland*; but finding Matters carried on contrary to what he thought the Intereſt of the Countrey, he asked, and obtained Leave to go into *France*, which he did, and continued there for ſome Years.

During his Stay there, what great Miſeries befell that admirable Queen, are too well known; how *Rizio* was Murthered in her own Preſence; how her Husband was killed by ſome of her Subjects, and the Blame laid upon the Queen; how they, to Ruin her, forced her in a manner to marry *Bothwell*, and then, under Pretence of purſuing *Bothwell*, roſe up in Arms againſt the Queen; and after they had tricked her into a Compliance with them, moſt barbarouſly, contrary to the Laws of God and Nations, Impriſoned her in *Loch Leiven*, is a Story too Melancholy to be inſiſted upon, eſpecially if we conſider, that from this Fountain flowed all the Streams of her other Afflictions, which ended in that unheard of Tragedy, of ſeparating her Head from her Body, by the Hand of a common Executioner.

The great Truſt the Queen placed in this Duke, and his Family, appears beyond Contradiction from this, that when ſhe had made her

her Escape from *Lock Leiven*, she went to *Hamilton*, and there she knew she was secure, the Loyalty of that Family was so great, that she was not at the least Demurr, whither to betake herself, but immediately went there.

The Loyalty of the *Hamiltons* did still more appear in the great Number that accompanied the Queen at *Langside*; and although the Success was not conformable to their Wish, yet they there signalised themselves so much, that our unfortunate Queen takes a particular Notice of it, in her Letter from *Carlisle* to the Duke, when she had fled to *England*, and earnestly desires him to come over; and the more to confirm the great Trust she put in him, she gave him a Commission to be Governour of the Kingdom, till she were restored.

Queen *Elizabeth* having, contrary to the Promise given to that Illustrious Princess, detained her in Prison, to give, at least, some probable Shadow of Ground for this her Injustice, proposed a Conference to be held betwixt the Commissioners of Queen *Mary*, and the Earl of *Murray*, the then pretended Regent. The Time being appointed, Queen *Mary* wanted her trusty Friend, the Duke of *Chattleherauld*, on whom she laid the great Stress of her Affairs, sent him a very kind Letter, desiring him to come over to *England* to that Conference; he, who never disputed his Sovereign's Commands,

though he loved a private Life well, yet came over to *England*; where Biſhop *Leſly* ſays, he continued, and concurred and aſſiſted with the Commons for Queen *Mary*, with his Friendly Council, Honourable Preſence, Learned Diligence with the Queen and Nobility of *England*, for his Miſtreſſes Service.

But Matters going contrary to the Duke's Inclination, and Queen *Elizabeth* favouring too much Queen *Mary*'s rebellious *Scots* Subjects, becauſe ſhe found them Men at her Beck; and who, to have the Reins of Government in their own Hands, would ſacrifice the Liberty, *&c.* of their Country to her. The Duke, by Queen *Mary*'s expreſs Commands, propoſes that the Government may be given to him, until the Queen were at Liberty, or the young Prince of perfect Age; this, though both conformable to the Law and Cuſtom of *Scotland*, Queen *Elizabeth* poſitively refuſed to give Ear to: She knew very well his Birth put him above that mercinary Condition, which ſhe deſired them that ſhould have the Government to be; ſhe knew he was too Loyal (an inherent Virtue in the Family,) to prefer her Meaſures to embroyl the Nation, to that of the Good of his Country; he then got a Commiſſion from Queen *Mary*, with which he went to *Scotland*; but before he had made Uſe of it, *Murray* had cunningly entered into the Duke of *Norfolk*'s Favour, and pro-

promiſed, when he went Home, to procure the Queen's Liberty, and Reſtoration to her Royal Dignity; the Duke informed the Queen of this, who therefore wrote to *Chatleherault*, to own him; *Murray*, to ſeem conſiſtent to his Promiſe, enters into Terms with the Dukes; but theſe he not only failed to fulfil, but contrary to the Laws of Honour, Impriſoned the Duke, and indeed moſt treacherouſly betrayed the Duke of *Norfolk*, as he ſent all his Letters to Queen *Elizabeth*, a piece of Treachery ſcarcely to be paralleled in Hiſtory; but what will not one do, whoſe baſe Deſigns led him to attempt the Crown, and be treacherous to that Duke, who had been ſo kind to him.

What fatal End this pretended Regent had, none who knows our Hiſtory, but knows; and had he but lived a little Time longer, he had very probably made the Duke of *Chatleherault*, then a Priſoner, ſuffer his utmoſt Indignation, he knew well he would oppoſe his Attempts to the Crown to the utmoſt, and would never baſely proſtitute the Honour of the Nation to his Caprice.

The Duke having got out of Priſon, tho' not till after the Baſtard's Death, got a new Commiſſion from Queen *Mary*, where ſhe deſigns him her true, faithful, and adopted Father, who from his Infancy had ſignalized his Faithfulneſs and Zeal for her Service; and ſhe ſtill called him by that Name, and committed all her Concerns to his Care. He

as a dutiful Subject, proclaimed this Commiſſion, deſiring the Subjects to give Obedience thereto, for which he and all his Friends were forfeited at *Linlithgow*, in 1571.

That though the Rebels in *Scotland*, by the Aſſiſtance they had from *England*, proved too ſtrong for the Duke, and the Loyaliſts, yet he continued ſtill faithful to his Princeſs, and to his dying Day never omitted any Opportunity to ſerve her, and with a generous Loyalty, rejected all the Offers that were made to him by the other Party; and ſtill by his Authority and Intereſt, kept the other Party from attempting any Thing to the Prejudice of the Crown till his Death, which was in 1575.

This Duke was a Perſon of great Juſtice and Candor, and ſet nothing before his Eyes but the Publick Good; ſo that Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* ſays of him in his Hiſtory, that in his Court there was nothing ſeen that the ſevereſt Eye could Cenſure or Reprove. In the Publick Government, ſuch a Moderation was kept, as no Man was heard to complain: The Governour was reverently obeyed, and held in as great Reſpect, as any Kings of preceeding Times; and indeed, though he had ſeveral Opportunities of Aggrandizing his Family, particularly by Marrying the young Queen to his eldeſt Son, to which he was ſollicited by the greateſt Part of the Nobility of *Scotland*; yet he had

had too much Regard to the Greatneſs of his Queen, and what he thought the Intereſt of his Country, to let any private Views Byaſs him; and that Queen all his Life, repoſed her whole Concerns in his Hands, named him her adopted Father, and he to the laſt, anſwered the Truſt repoſed in him. And Archbiſhop *Spotſwood* further ſays of him, he was a Noble Man, well inclined, open and plain, and without all Diſſimulation; and though he met with great Troubles, yet by the Goodneſs of God, who always favours the Innocent and Honeſt-minded, he went through all, and died honourably, and in Peace.

He was ſucceeded by *John*, Lord *Aberbrothick*, his Second Son, (the Eldeſt dying without Iſſue.) This Lord was, together with his Father, forfeited for his firm Adherence to Queen *Mary*, in 1571, and though by the Pacification he was reſtored, yet he, together with his Brother, Lord *Claud*, was again forfeited, in 1587, and the Eſtate and Dignity of the Earl of *Arran*, was beſtowed upon Captain *James Stewart*, and he continued in Baniſhment till 1595, that he, and ſome other Lords who were Baniſhed, finding the King, (*James* VI.) then but Young, governed by very pernitious Councils, returned to *Scotland* in a Body, without any Intention of Violence, and were rereconciled to the King, who when he ſaw this Lord, he received him with the greateſt

Kind-

Kindneſs, and told him, my Lord, I did never ſee you before, and muſt confeſs, that of all this Company, you have been the moſt wronged; you were a faithful Servant to the Queen, my Mother, in my Minority, and when I underſtood not, as I do, the Eſtate of Things, hardly uſed; and the King made him immediately Governour of *Dumbartone*-Caſtle, and from that Time he continued in great Favour with his Prince.

This Lord had, as all the others of that Name, been a violent Stickler for Queen *Mary*; and whilſt he was in *France*, he publiſhed a Cartel under his Seal, offering to fight any Man who durſt ſay Queen *Mary* was acceſſary to the Murther of her Huſband, or guilty of any the Crimes ſhe was charged with by her Rebellious Subjects. And that Princeſs, when that ſevere and unparalleled Sentence of Death was to be executed upon her, took a Ring off her Finger, and gave it to one of her Servants, and ordered him to carry it to her Couſin, Lord *John Hamilton*, and tell him, that was all ſhe then had to Witneſs her great Senſe of his and his Families conſtant Fidelity to her, and of their ſuffering for their Intereſts, and deſired it might be ſtill kept in the Family, as a laſting Evidence of her Kindneſs to it, which is preſerved to this Day.

King

King *James* treated him with the ſame Reſpect his Mother had done the Duke of *Chaſtleherauld*, call'd him always Father, and wrote to him often with the greateſt Eſteem and Familiarity that was poſſible; and when that King went to *Denmark*, to bring home his Queen, he named him Lord-Lieutenant of the *South* of *Scotland*, and left him a Letter (yet extant) full of great Eſteem and Kindneſs; to which he added this Poſtſcript with his own Hand.

My Lord, if my conſtant Truſt had not been in you, of your great Love towards me, I had not thus employed you upon ſuch an Occaſion; therefore I aſſure myſelf you will not fruſtrate my Expectation.

He alſo called him to Chriſten one of his Children, and continued to the laſt to put great Confidence in him. That Lord did indeed deſerve to be ſo uſed, for he had with an invincible Patience and Loyalty ſubmitted to the hard Uſage he met with, during that King's Childhood, and ſome Years after.

In the Year 1599, he was created Marquis of *Hamilton*, the firſt in *Scotland* that ever bore that Dignity; he lived to a very good Age; and died *Apr.* 12. 1604. He was a Gentleman of very bright Parts, and bred a Scholar, and had the inherent Quality of the Family, I mean Loyalty to the greateſt Degree; and it may be ſaid of him and his Father, tho' they ſtood next the Crown for

Fifty

Fifty Years together, from 1543, that King *James* V. died, till 1593, that Prince *Henry* was born; during all which Time there was none but Queen *Mary*, and King *James* of the Blood-Royal; yet all that while their Deportment ſhewed, that they had no other Deſign but to ſerve theſe Princes with all poſſible Fidelity and Zeal; and tho' *Scotland* was then much diſtracted with inteſtine Broils and Diſorders, yet they never ſet themſelves at the Head of any Faction, nor departed from the Intereſts of the Crown: On the contrary, this Marquis, tho' he was ſolicited by a Letter ſign'd by Mr. *Bruce*, and Mr. *Balcanquell*, two of the violent Clergy in 1596, in the Name of their Godly Brethren, to head them againſt the King, he poſitively declined it, and by his early Information of it to the King, nipped that Rebellion in the Bud; and when he was Dying, and giving his Bleſſing to his Son, and reckoning up the moſt Signal Favours of God to him, he named Three more particularly. The firſt was, That during all his Troubles, and notwithſtanding the great Offers were made him in *France*, by the Houſe of *Guiſe*, if he would change his Religion, yet God had never left him to do ſo baſe a Thing, though he loſt his Intereſt in that Court by refuſing it. The other was, That he had never oppreſs'd any of his Vaſſals and Tenants. And the Third was, That he had never entertained one Thought contrary to the Duty he owed the Crown;

Crown; and that no hard Uſage he met with had ever prevail'd on him to any ſuch Deſign and therefore charg'd his Son on his Bleſſing to continue in the ſame Courſes. He married *Margaret Lyon*, Daughter to the Lord *Glames*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, by whom he had Iſſue *James*, who ſucceeded him, and a Daughter marrried to the Earl of *Neidſdale*.

James, the Second Marquis of *Hamilton*, had his Education in *Scotland*, but very early went Abroad; and having travel'd for a pretty long Time, he returned Home through *England*; and tho' King *James* did very much deſire his Stay at Court, yet he declined it, and went Home to *Scotland*. Some Time after he was prevail'd upon to come to Court, and King *James* made him Lord Steward of the Houſhold; and in 1619, he created him Earl of *Cambridge*, a Title that was never conferred on any, but ſuch as were of the Royal Blood; he was alſo made Knight of the Garter.

King *James* VI. deſigning to have the Articles of Religion, commonly call'd the Five Articles of *Perth*, enacted into a Law, called a Parliament in *Scotland*; and as that Prince knew this Matter would meet with great Oppoſition from the Puritan Faction there, ſo he thought he could not employ any Body in the high Station of Commiſſioner, whoſe Intereſt in *Scotland* was ſo great, to overawe

the Proceedings of theſe raſh Hot Heads, as this Marquis; he accordingly being named Commiſſioner, came to *Edinburgh*, and underſtanding ſome turbulent Miniſters were endeavouring to obſtruct the Ratification of theſe Articles, he diſcharged them all out of Town, and ſuch as would not obey, he Impriſoned; in ſhort, ſays a great Hiſtorian, all that Time he carried himſelf, and the Matters committed to his Truſt, with ſuch Wiſdom and Foreſight, as in a few Days he brought them all to the End which he wiſhed, without any open Contradiction. The Subſidy deſired was granted; the Acts of *Perth* Aſſembly ratified; and divers Conſtitutions made, for the Good and Profit of the Country. Towards the Concluſion of the Parliament, (he) ſays the ſame Hiſtorian, in moſt perſwaſive Words, (and with that Majeſty which became the Place he repreſented,) required them to acquieſce and willingly to obey the Concluſions taken, and not draw upon themſelves, by their Diſobedience, his Majeſty's Anger. And indeed, as the Firmneſs and Reſolution he ſhewed in this Matter, was what carried him through, againſt all the Malice of the Puritan Party, ſo the Laws at this Time Enacted, cut the Throat of Presbytery and Faction at that Time in *Scotland*. He was in great Eſteem in both Kingdoms, equally dear to the Sovereign and the Subjects; and it was certain

no

no Perſon could have diſputed with him the King's Affection and Confidence, the Duke of *Buckingham* only excepted: He was of a mighty great Spirit, fitted for the greateſt Affairs, and was one of the handſomeſt Men of his Age. He died in *England*, in *March*, 1625, his Corps was ſent to *Scotland*, and interred at *Hamilton*, with his Anceſtors; his Death was univerſally lamented, but by none more than the King himſelf; and when he heard it, he ſaid, if the Branches are thus cut down, the Stock could not continue long; for ſome Time before the Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox* died, and this proved too true, the King dying ſoon after.

This Marquis married Lady *Anne Cunningham*, Daughter to the Earl of *Glemairn*; by her he had Two Sons, *James* and *William*, both Dukes of *Hamilton*, and Three Daughters, married to the Earls of *Crawford*, *Eglington*, and *Drumlanrig*, Predeceſſor to the Duke of *Queenſberry*.

This Marquis's Death was follow'd with an Univerſal Regret, many of the *Engliſh* Nobility, in their Letters to his Son, expreſſing their Veneration and Eſteem for the Father, in Terms beyond the Cajolery or Civility of Complements. The Loſs of ſo Great, and ſuch a tenderly affectionate Father, meeting the ſweet Diſpoſition and dutiful Love of the Son, could not but prove very afflicting to him.

He firſt ſent down his Father's Corps into *Scotland*, where it was nobly Interr'd in the Burial-Place of that Family, but could not follow it himſelf, being obliged to wait and aſſiſt at the Coronation of King *Charles* I. which ſhortly follow'd, where he carried the Sword of State before the King; and he found the Crown had rather heighten'd, than leſſen'd the preſent King's Affection to him; yet this could not bind him ſo firmly, but that he reſolved to return to *Scotland*, to look into his own Affairs, which were in great Diſorder by his Father's Magnificent and Generous Way of Living; who notwithſtanding his being Lord-Steward, and the Benefit of other Places he enjoy'd, had far out-run himſelf at Court: And indeed, his Son had too much of his own Temper, and was too generous to be very Frugal.

During his Abſence from Court, his Majeſty's Affection for him appear'd, not only in his ready granting every Thing that was mov'd for his Advantage, but in the kind Letters, which upon different Occaſions he wrote to him with his own Hand, as well as the many Publick ones he received upon all Occaſions, ſufficiently ſhew'd his Majeſty's ſincere Eſteem for him. Theſe chiefly conſiſted of a very kind and earneſt Invitation to Court, but the Marquis handſomely excus'd himſelf upon the great Incumbrances on his Fortune, which made it impoſſible for

for him to live at Court, in that Rank which became his Quality; beſides, he ſeem'd at that Time to be perfectly in Love with a retired Life: Nor can it be denied to be without Example, to ſee a King entreating his Subject to accept the Favours and Honours he deſign'd him, when he was with much humble Modeſty declining thoſe Royal Offers.

But as the King preſſed his Return to Court very earneſtly, ſo he was likewiſe ſolicited to it by a great many of the chief Rank and Quality, and by none more earneſtly than the Duke of *Buckingham*, with the hearty and generous Offers of all the Friendſhip and Service that was in his Power: Yet he continu'd in *Scotland* till the End of the Year 1628, and all the while kept himſelf at a Diſtance from Publick Affairs, not buſying himſelf with any Thing above his own private Concerns; which, together with his ſweet and obliging Temper, took exceedingly with all People. In the End of the Year 1628, his Father-in-Law, the Earl of *Denbigh*, came down to preſs his Return to Court; and beſides, a very obliging Letter from the King, brought with him alſo from his Majeſty the Offer of Maſter of the Horſe, which was vacant by the Murther of the Duke of *Buckingham*.

This noble Meſſage could not but prevail on his Temper, conſidering from whom it was

was ſent, and the Authority of the Bearer that brought it; therefore he no longer diſputed, but at the latter End of the aforeſaid Year, he came to Court, where he was preſently made Maſter of the Horſe, Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Sworn of the Privy-Council in both Kingdoms; and the King us'd him with ſuch Generoſity and Kindneſs, that his Carriage to him ſpoke more the Affection of a Friend, than the Power of a Maſter. He always us'd the familiar Expreſſion, both when he ſpoke to him, and of him, of calling him *James*; and it was preſently obſerv'd, that none enjoy'd a greater Share of the King's Affection than he: But as ſo high Favour with the Prince, is generally attended with Emulation and Jealouſie, ſo the Marquis fail'd not of his Share of it, though no Man ever bore the Character of a Favourite more worthily, or carried a more prudent or even Hand in executing the Power he was inveſted with.

The great Deſign which at this Time poſſeſt the King wholly, was the Affairs of *Germany*, where the Elector *Palatine*, his Brother-in-Law, accepting the Crown of *Bohemia*, involv'd himſelf and all *Germany*, in a Scene of laſting and bloody Wars; to reſcue whom, the King thought himſelf highly oblig'd; and the Queen of *Bohemia* at this Time recommending the Care of her Affairs to the Marquis, as being her neareſt Kinſman,

Kinſman, and of all others at the *Engliſh* Court the beſt known to her; for as during King *James*'s Life, ſhe had ever entruſted his Father, ſo ſhe entail'd that Truſt upon his Son; it open'd the Way for his being ſent into *Germany* on theſe Affairs.

At this Time likewiſe the King of *Sweden*, partly provok'd by a Deſire of Glory, and with generous Reſolutions to free *Germany* from this Yoke of Tyranny, put himſelf at the Head of this Confederacy; much of his Confidence being grounded on the Aſſiſtance he expected from the King of *Britain*, which he earneſtly ſolicited by his Ambaſſador here; and the King receiv'd as gladly, being the likely Means of reſtoring the Elector *Palatine* to his Dominions: He thereupon fix'd on the Marquis to enter into a Treaty with the *Swediſh* King, who by Meſſages to that Prince, ſoon effected an Agreement to aſſiſt him with a Body of Troops, which indeed began to be more and more neceſſary, the Emperor being very powerful, and having gain'd ſome Advantages over the Confederates.

King *Guſtavus* was now in *Germany*, and in no little Straits, depending much on the Marquis's Succours, to whom he ſent frequent Expreſſes to haſten his Coming. Nor was the Marquis leſs buſie in *Scotland*, haſtening his Expedition. Theſe Forces were to conſiſt of Ten Thouſand Men, to be paid by

by the King of *Britain*, and were part *Scots*, and part *Engliſh*.

But juſt in this Juncture, the Marquis's Enemies laid hold of ſo favourable a Seaſon, to endeavour to blaſt his Reputation, and this by the moſt baſe and impious Means imaginable, which however, was ſo fram'd, as carried with it ſome Shew or Probability of Truth. The Contrivance was well laid, and by the Subtleſt of the Marquis's Enemies, the Lord *Ochiltree*, but firſt broke by another Hand, and was to this Effect, *That the Marquis's Deſigns were not upon* Germany, *but* Britain; *and that when his Army was once fit for Action, he would diſcover himſelf, in ſetting forth his Pretentions to the Crown of* Scotland. But this was ſo ill receiv'd by Men of Judgment, that it made no Impreſſion; and for the King, and thoſe about him, they knew too well where thoſe Forces were really to be employ'd, ſo that with other concurring Circumſtances of the Marquis's Innocence, all this Noiſe turn'd to the Shame and Confuſion of his Enemies, and indeed to his own Honour; for the King was not only entirely ſatisfied of the Marquis's Loyalty, but had perfectly acquainted himſelf with the Reaſons and Deſign of this Affair, and therefore refus'd to liſten to it, in Terms very full of Affection to the Marquis, ſuch as diſcovered he was incapable of any Jealouſie, either of him, or his Actions. Within a very little while the

Marquis

Marquis came to Court, utterly ignorant of this execrable Deſign againſt him, and receiv'd ſuch a Welcome from the King, as made his Enemies ſenſible of their Error; neither would he liſten to thoſe, who only deſired, that on his Return he might not be admitted to his Preſence, at leaſt not to lye in his Bedchamber: Inſtead of which the King took him apart, and unravel'd to him all the Villainous Story. The Confuſion it rais'd in his Thoughts, was inexpreſſible; he knew his Innocence, but was amaz'd at the daring Forgery of his Enemies; but ſuch was the Goodneſs and Generoſity of the King, that he would ſcarce allow him to ſpeak in his own Defence, as entirely believing he needed not to be vindicated; and when the Marquis offered himſelf to be tried, the King would not hear of it, but order'd him to lye in his Bedchamber that very Night. *Ochiltree* ſoon after was tried, and ſentenc'd for his Forgery, to perpetual Impriſonment, which he underwent the ſpace of Twenty Years; till the Marquis, with an uncommon Generoſity, procur'd his Liberty.

The Marquis now purſu'd his Expedition to *Germany*, and on the 31ſt of *July*, 1631, arriv'd at *Elſinor* Ten Days after he had ſail'd out of *Yarmouth-Road*; here he went aſhore, to kiſs the King of *Denmark*'s Hand, and to deliver the King's Letters to him for a free Paſſage, in Caſe he took that Courſe;

but Two Days after he ſet Sail again, and came to the Mouth of the *Oder*, between *Woolgaſt* and the Iſle of *Uſedom*, where the *Swedes* firſt Landed, and Two Days after began to diſembark his Forces, which were, upon Muſter, found to be about Six Thouſand Men, and then ſent the King of *Sweden* Notice of his Arrival, who welcom'd the Meſſage with much Joy, and appointed the Marquis to go into *Sileſia* for the reducing of that Country, promiſing him that the Army, which was to aſſiſt him, ſhould meet him on the Way, and with this Anſwer, ſent him a Commiſſion to be General in *Sileſia*.

The Fame of this Army run through *Germany*, and added no little Benefit to the King of *Sweden*'s Affairs, not only becauſe the Number of them was exaggerated, but that the *Scots* were at this Time held in the higheſt Eſteem for their Native Valour. Soon after the King of *Sweden* deſired the Marquis to come to him, and receive Orders from himſelf, who on his Arrival was careſſed with the higheſt Expreſſions of Kindneſs, and then diſpatch'd to command a ſeparate Army on the moſt difficult Occaſions, and to ſecure ſome important Paſſes, while the King of *Sweden* himſelf was at Liberty to give his Enemies Battle with the Groſs of his Army, by which Means he gain'd that Memorable Victory at *Leipſick*, which greatly altered the Affairs of *Germany*; and notwith-

notwithſtanding the Plague had broke out in the Marquis's Army, yet he found Means to relieve *Groſſen*, then beſieged by the *Imperialiſts*, and took *Guben*, a Frontier Town in *Sileſia*, and was proceeding to other Conqueſts in that Country, when he received Letters from the King of *Sweden*, intimating to him, That by his Agreement with the Duke of *Saxony*, that Elector had undertaken to reduce *Sileſia*; Wherefore he appointed the Marquis to follow him to Lower *Saxony*.

The Marquis regrated extremely, that after he had march'd ſo many Days through a deſert Country, and was now come to a plentiful one, where there was Hopes of good Succeſs, he ſhould be called back into thoſe waſted and barren Fields: But he began now to perceive, that the King of *Sweden*, elevated with Succeſs, was not ſo ſincere as he could have wiſhed; and that *Sileſia* being united to the Crown of *Bohemia*, he would never truſt him in any Country where the King of *Bohemia* had Intereſt. However the Marquis had once reſolved to puſh forward at all Hazards; but the King of *Sweden* had ordered all the Garriſons in that Country to acknowledge him no more as General, ſo that the Marquis was obliged to return to *Luſtrin*, where he received Orders to lay Siege to *Madgeburgh*; and tho' his Army was mightily diminiſhed by the Plague, and otherwiſe, ſo that he had not in all above

4500 Men, and the Garriſon of the Place was 3000, yet he had carried the Place, had he had the neceſſary Troops promiſed him in Time, for Want of which, and thro' the Slowneſs of the *Swedes*, he was forced to ſuffer the Place to be relieved by *Papenheim*.

In the mean Time the King ſent Sir *Henry Vane*, his Ambaſſador, to the King of *Sweden* to propoſe a Treaty, who gave the Marquis private Notice of his Arrival, and the King deſired them to come to his Camp, where he ſeem'd to expreſs a great Deſire to finiſh the Agreement; and when he appointed *Guſtavus Horn* to negotiate with Sir *Henry Vane*, he ordain'd him to make the Marquis Umpire of all their Differences, declaring that he would ſtand to his Deciſion. This, which was given under his Hand and Signet, was only an unuſual Compliment from that Victorious King, and was ſo look'd on by the Marquis, who did not think fit to put it to the Trial. He preſſed the King for freſh Supplies, but was ſent back to his Army, loaded only with Hopes and fair Promiſes.

As to the Treaty, the King of *Sweden* propoſed ſuch unreaſonable Conditions, as were not to be complied with, and, in particular, evaded the moſt material Article, which made the *Britiſh* Monarch engage in the Wars of *Germany*, *viz.* the Reſtoring the *Palatinate*; ſo that the Marquis clearly perceived

ceived no Good was to be reaped from this Enterprize; however the *Swede* continued to uſe him with the higheſt Civilities, tho' Sir *Henry Vane*, the Ambaſſador, was but on ill Terms with him. In the mean Time the Marquiſs's Army was reduced to Two Regiments only, the one *Engliſh*, and the other *Scots*; ſo that all this Summer he followed the King of *Sweden* in the Quality of a Volunteer only, of which he was ſufficiently tired, and perfectly found that that Prince's Deſigns were only to weary out his Patience, that he might thereby be quickened to promote the Treaty with *England* on any Terms: But no Conſideration of his own could make him betray his Maſter's Service, or drive on Propoſitions which he judged ſo diſhonourable for him, as were thoſe which the *Swede* inſiſted on, in Relation to the *Palatinate*, which it was plain he did not deſign to part withal till the War was ended, nor then, but on unreaſonable Conditions: Whereupon the Marquis wrote to the King his Maſter, to deſire his poſitive Commands what to do; who anſwer'd him, that unleſs he were able to procure ſomewhat more ſatisfactory from the *Swede*, to get off as handſomely as he could, and return home; which not being able to effect, he deſired Leave to return to *England*, under Pretext of Levying new Forces; and to remove any Miſunderſtanding that might acrue between that Prince and the King his Maſter. This Propoſition

ſeem'd

ſeem'd ſo fair, that it could not be refuſed; ſo that with a new Commiſſion, for bringing over an Army, he was diſmiſs'd by the King of *Sweden*, and all about him, with very high Expreſſions of Friendſhip, that Prince telling him, *That in whatſoever Place of the World he were, he would ever look on him as one of his own.*

And thus ended the Marquis's Expedition into *Germany*, wherein if he miſſed of that Succeſs, which himſelf and others had expected, it was not to be imputed to any Miſcarriage or Neglect of his own, neither was any Thing ſo much the Occaſion of the Diſappointments he met with in *Germany* as the firm Affection he bore his Maſter's Service; which, tho' it leſſened the King of *Sweden*'s Confidence in him, yet it could not but encreaſe his Eſteem for him; and both *Oxenſtern*, and his other Counſellors, in their Addreſſes to the *Engliſh* Court, after the Death of *Guſtavus*, and during the Minority of their young Queen, did recommend all their Affairs to the Marquis, as to one of their own Nation; and ſeveral of the Electors and Princes of *Germany* were much taken with his Converſe, having ſeen him in the *Swediſh* Camp, and continued their Friendſhip with him, both by Correſpondence and Preſents. When he returned to Court, his Reception with the King was as affectionate as his Parting had been, and he continued about his Majeſty with the higheſt

higheſt Characters of Favour, but kept himſelf much out of Buſineſs, medling little with the *Scottiſh* Affairs, unleſs it were to procure a particular Kindneſs to his Friends, in which he was ſo ſparing that many were diſſatisfied with him for it.

Next Year, *Anno* 1633, the King went into *Scotland* to receive the Crown of that his Antient and Native Kingdom, and held a Parliament there; thither the Marquis followed him, and aſſiſted at the Ceremony, according to his Rank and Quality. But his Expedition into *Germany* had involved him and all his Friends in vaſt Debts; which, however, his Leaſe of the Cuſtoms of the Wines was fully able to diſcharge, and was ratified in that Parliament: But the Earl of *Traquair*, who was the Treaſurer-Deputy, ſuggeſted to the King, that theſe Cuſtoms were the readieſt and ſureſt Monies that the King had, and that the Treaſury would ſignifie little without them: Wherefore he moved that ſome other Way might be found for refunding the Expence the Marquis had been at in *Germany*. The Marquis's Friends preſſed him to oppoſe *Traquair*'s Propoſition; but it pleas'd the King, and he moved it to the Marquis, who, without Heſitation or Reluctancy, rendered back his Leaſe, and ſubmitted his whole Pretenſion to the King: But ſo juſt was his Majeſty in this Affair, that he found out another Way to ſatisfie the Monies

Monies, ſo that in a very few Years his Fortune was recovered from the Burdens it lay under.

From this Time, which was in the Year 1633, to 1638, he acted little in Publick Buſineſs; but was then appointed Commiſſioner to the Parliament of *Scotland*, which Office he accepted of moſt unwillingly, telling his Majeſty, his Life, and Fortune, and All he had, he would hazard for his Service; but this Employment was full of Danger, the Succeſs of it at leaſt dubious, and he was very much a Stranger to *Scottiſh* Men and Affairs: However his Majeſty's Commands were poſitive, and he accepted the Office. He arrived at *Edinburgh* the 9th of *June*, 1638, and was met by about 6000 Gentlemen, and others, on Horſeback, and there acted a Part entirely approved by his Majeſty. He went to *England* to acquaint his Majeſty with the Poſture of Affairs, and had his good Advice been followed at that Time, the fatal *Cataſtrophe* which afterwards enſued might have been in ſome Meaſure prevented: However he was again ſent into *Scotland*, where finding Matters in a bad Poſture, he took a ſecond Journey to *London*, and was ſoon after named Commiſſioner to the General Aſſembly, which was appointed to meet at *Glaſcow*, which was one of the moſt memorable and troubleſome Seſſions that ever was held in that Kingdom. This Truſt the Duke managed with a great deal

deal of Integrity and Conduct; but finding them undutiful in their Behaviour, he found it expedient for his Majeſty's Honour and Service to diſſolve them.

Nothing was now to be expected but a War with the Covenanters, for indeed, no Reaſon or mild Perſuaſion had any Effect on thoſe turbulent Spirits; and when the King was neceſſitated to reſolve on a War with them, the Marquis was appointed General of the Army, and ſail'd with it to *Leith*; but was by expreſs Orders kept from entering upon Action, till it could be ſeen what fair Means would do; and tho' the King preſſed him again to be Commiſſioner, yet he declined it, and for ſome Years acted only in a private Sphere, continuing at Court with the Character of a Privy Counſellor only, but much in his Majeſty's Favour.

Soon after his Enemies began to create Jealouſies of him to the King, but his Majeſty, in one of his Speeches to his Parliament, declared himſelf highly ſatisfied with his Conduct, ſaying, *The Marquis had carried himſelf like a faithful Subject and Servant in all his Employments, during theſe Troubles, and as one that deſigned the Good and Happineſs of his Country:* And as a farther Mark of Eſteem for his Family, appointed *William*, his Brother, Secretary of State, and created him Earl of *Lanerk*.

The Troubles ſtill remained in *Scotland*, and none laboured more earneſtly the Good of his Majeſty's Service than theſe Two Loyal Brothers. The Marquis was created Duke of *Hamilton*, *Anno* 1643, being then with his Brother in *Scotland*, earneſtly endeavouring to prevent that Nation from agreeing with the Two Houſes in *England*: But becauſe Affairs did not ſucceed well in *Scotland*, his Enemies at Court laid all the Blame on him, and again trump'd up their old Story of his Pretences to the Crown of *Scotland*. The Duke underſtood this, but ſo well he knew his own Innocence, that he made all poſſible Haſte to Court, which was then at *Oxford*. This was interpreted as a New Crime; and it was now ſaid that both he and his Brother had betrayed the King's Cauſe in *Scotland*, and were coming to Court to be Intelligencers.

Theſe Stories made ſome Impreſſion on the King, and both the Brothers were for a while confined to their Chambers. The Charge againſt the Duke was great, but he juſtified himſelf fully; and tho' he preſſed for a Tryal, yet that was denied him, and he ſent Priſoner to *Pendennis*-Caſtle, where he continued to the End of *April*, 1646, that ſome of the Parliament Forces took the Caſtle of St. *Michael's Mount* in *Cornwal*, where he was then in Durance, by which Means he had his Freedom. He was no ſooner at Liberty, but he reſolved upon

a private Life; yet did not fail to uſe his Intereſt with the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners at *London*, and his Freinds in the Houſe of Peers, to treat with the King upon eaſie Terms; for by this Time the King's Affairs were quite ruined; and as he was incapable of concurring with his Enemies; ſo both his late Uſage, and the deſperate Poſture of Affairs, made him reſolve to engage no farther, but to retreat into ſome retired Corner, where he might languiſh out the reſt of his unfortunate Life; yet he could not conquer himſelf, ſo great was his Affection to the King, from ſtudying to do him the beſt Services and Offices in his Power.

His Majeſty ſeeing Things brought to a deſperate Paſs, reſolved to throw himſelf into the Hands of his *Scottiſh* Subjects, who had made ſuch large Profeſſions of Duty and Affection; where the Earl of *Lanerick* was one of the firſt that waited on his Majeſty, proteſting how dear the Preſervation of his Sacred Perſon, as well as his juſt Power and Greatneſs ſhould ever be held; and was ſoon ſeated again in his Majeſty's Juſt Favour and Confidence: Nor could the Duke longer withhold himſelf, but came to *Newcaſtle*, and waited on the King. When he firſt kiſſed his Majeſty's Hands, the King and he bluſh'd at once; and as the Duke was retiring back, with a little Confuſion, into the Crowd, that was in the Room, his Majeſty ask'd him if he was afraid to come near him; Upon

which he came to the King, and they entered into a large Converſation together, wherein his Majeſty expreſs'd the Sence he had of his long Sufferings, in Terms ſo full of Affection, that he not only broke thro' all his Reſentments, but ſet a New Edge upon upon his Old Affection and Duty. The King told him, *He ever had judg'd him innocent, as to the Bulk of Things; tho' he confeſſed there were ſome Particulars he was not ſo well ſatisfied with: But that his Reſtraint was extorted from him much againſt his Heart, for he had ſtood out againſt all the Importunities of his Enemies till the very Morning he came to* Oxford, *in which moſt of the whole Court came about him, and ſaid they would all deſert him, if he yielded not to their Deſires.*

The Duke profeſſed, *He was fully ſatisfied his Majeſty judged him innocent, and that his Heart was ſtill what it had ever been to his Service; but he ſaw himſelf in no Capacity of being farther uſeful to his Majeſty, ſince theſe Jealouſies would ever be hanging over his Head, tho' his Majeſty were free of them: Beſides, he had no Reaſon to think that Cloud of Misfortunes, that did hitherto hang over all his Actions, was yet broken or diſſipated; and therefore he had particular Reaſon to apprehend croſs Events would yet follow all his Attempts; but he knew the World would be ſo unjuſt to impute them to his Reſentments, and count them not caſual, but deſigned Miſcarriages: Wherefore he deſired Permiſſion to*

go

go Abroad into ſome Corner of the World, where he might enjoy a private Retirement.

But the King's Anſwer to this was, That he look'd on it as a well couched Reſentment, adding, *He did not expect he would leave him when he needed his Aſſiſtance moſt:* And this overcame his Reſolution for this Time, therefore he frankly deſired his Majeſty would lay his Commands on him.

The firſt Thing the King ordered him, was to do what he could for *Montroſe*, who was then under the hardeſt Preſſures, and the Fury againſt him ſo great, that no Conditions would be liſtened to in his Favour. This the Duke undertook, tho' the known Enmity between him and *Montroſe* might reaſonably have pleaded an Excuſe to this Service; but the Duke was of a Nature too generous and noble to remember Injuries to one who was then under the higheſt Senſe of Danger and Misfortune, tho' his Majeſty's Commands had not intervened: And ſo effectually he managed this Affair, that he brought the Matter to a Treaty, by his particular Intereſt in both Parties, and freed that Great Man out of a very threatning and eminent Danger; which Piece of Service was highly grateful and ſatisfactory to the King.

The

The Duke ſoon after this went into *Scotland*, where he uſed his beſt Endeavours to bring over the *Scots* to the Intereſt of their Prince; but ſeeing Matters run Counter to his Deſigns, he reſolv'd once more to retire from all Affairs. *Lanerick* was ſo concerned at this Deſign, that he ſpared nothing that either his Affection or Wit could ſuggeſt to divert him from that deſperate Reſolution; but the Duke was immoveable, and begg'd his Majeſties Permiſſion to retire: But the King reſiſted that Requeſt with ſo much Reaſon and Affection, that in the whole courſe of his Favours to him, there had not been any ſince the Buſineſs of *Ochiltree*, wherein he had more obliged him, than the Tenderneſs that then appeared to him; yet the Duke was ſo importunate, that at Length the King ſeemed to give Way to it, at leaſt the Duke underſtood it ſo; whereupon he took Leave of the King, which he apprehended to be his laſt Farewell, and it proved to be ſo indeed, (unleſs a Tranſient View he had of him after he had at *Windſor*,) ſo he left the King, and carried Home with him a Heart ſo full and heavy with Melancholy, that all that was done could not rouſe him out of it; and neither the Tears of his dying Mother, the Intreaties of his Friends, nor the conſtant Perſecution of his Brother, were able to divert him from his Reſolution; for having overcome the King's Diſlike of it, which was ſtronger than all other

other Things with him, he was Proof againſt all other Motives: But his Majeſty quickly repented him of that tacit Conſent he ſeemed to have given, and therefore ſent after him a very kind Letter, to let him know as much; and this back'd by another from Sir *Robert Murray*, ſetting forth how great an Inconveniency his Retiring would be to his Majeſties Affairs, which was ſo preſſing and Melancholy, and that it quite vanquiſhed the Duke's Reſolution, which he ſoon expreſſed in a Dutiful, but Melancholy Letter to the King; and at his coming to *Scotland*, procured new Inſtructions to be ſent to their Commiſſioners at *London*, to preſs a Perſonal Treaty, and that the King might be with Safety and Honour in *England*; but all that could be done, was not ſufficient to prevent the *Scots* Parliament from delivering up the King to the *Engliſh* Parliament: At which Propoſition, the Duke, and his Brother, expreſſed their Horror, with Language ſo full of Reaſon and Affection, that nothing but violent and enraged Paſſion could have reſiſted it. The Duke was all Melancholy and Diſpair, and *Lanerick* as full of Fury and Rage. They ſaid, 'Would *Scotland* now quit a Poſſeſſion 'of One Thouſand Five Hundred Years 'Date, which was their Intereſt in their 'Sovereign, and do it to thoſe, whoſe En-'mity both againſt him and them, did now 'viſibly appear? Was this the Effect of all

'their

'their Proteſtations, Duty and Affection
'to his Majeſty? Was this their keeping of
'their Covenant, wherein they had Sworn
'to defend the King's Majeſties Perſon and
'Authority? Was this a ſuitable Return to
'the King's Goodneſs, both in his conſent-
'ing to all the Deſires of that Kingdom, in
'the Year 1641, and in his late truſting his
'Perſon to them? What Cenſures would
'be paſt upon this through the whole
'World? What a Stain would it be to the
'whole Reformed Religion? And in fine,
'what Danger might be apprehended both to
'the King's Perſon, and *Scotland*, from the
'Party that was now prevalent in *England*.

But notwithſtanding all this, the Queſtion was put, *Whether they ſhould leave his Majeſty in* England, *to the Two Houſes there, or not?* So ſoftly did the prevailing Party preſent that Infamous Buſineſs to the Vote of Parliament. The Duke's Vote was ſuitable to his Diſcourſe and Temper, being a Negative, uttered with much grave and deep Sorrow; but the Earl of *Lanerick* was not ſo ſoft, but with a Vehemence of Spirit becoming the Occaſion, expreſs'd himſelf thus, *As God ſhall have Mercy on my Soul at the Great Day, I would rather chuſe to have my Head ſtruck off at the* Market-Croſs *of* Edinburgh, *than give my Conſent to this Vote.* And when nothing was able to Ballance the Vote, the ſaid Earl, with a deep Groan, ſaid, *This was the blackeſt* Saturday *that*

ever

ever Scotland *ſaw*, alluding to a great Eclypſe that was many Years before on a *Saturday*, from which it was ſtill call'd the *Black-Saturday*.

Now it was, that genuine Melancholy and Horror dwelt in all the Duke's Thoughts, his Brother was too deeply prepoſſeſſed with the like Apprehenſions, to Miniſter much Comfort to him, only he preſſed him not to give too much Way to Grief, but to ſee what could be done for ſetting Things to right again; and for infuſing that Senſe of Shame and Horror into all People for the late Action, which might prepare them to a Noble Reparation of it, by a generous ingaging in the King's Quarrel. The Duke, and the Earls of *Lauderdale* and *Lanerick*, were they who united moſt cloſely and cordially, for bringing about this Deſign. The King was a ſtrict Priſoner at *Holmby*, and Time preſſed hard for ſomething to be done, but it met with great Oppoſition from another Party; for as my Lord *Lanart* then expreſſed it, *Argyle, and the Miniſters are ſtill incapable of Satisfaction, and with horrid Violence oppoſe all Loyal Motions*. However, the Duke and his Friends broke through all Oppoſition, and carried the Reſolution of putting the Country in Defence; and an Ingagement was entered into for Defence of the King.

Thoſe who united for engaging in the King's Quarrel, deſign'd that *David Leſley*, after Lord *Newark*, ſhould command the Army to be raiſed; and he at firſt undertook the Service very cordially; but ſome of the Churchmen fell on him very furiouſly, and prevailed ſo far, that being of an eaſie Nature, he ſtruck off, and refuſed the Service; whereupon finding it neceſſary that a Perſon of Eminence and Integrity ſhould have that Charge, they reſolved on making the Duke General, which he oppoſed to a high Degree; ſaying, he was reſolved to hazard his Life with the firſt, yet he would decline all Command, knowing with what Calumnies he had been aſperſed, and what Jealouſies many had ſtill of him, as if his Deſigns were for himſelf in the King's Prejudice: But there was none ſo fit to chuſe for the Truſt, wherefore it was agreed by them all, that the Charge muſt be laid on him, to which, when he ſaw no Remedy, he ſubmitted with great Averſion, and nothing but that it was to ſerve the King, could have prevailed over his Reſolution.

It ſhall ſuffice to ſay, that with this Army the Duke marched into *England*, though partly againſt his own Opinion, where he ſhew'd all the Conduct of a good General, and the Courage and Faithfulneſs of a good Subject, but was unhappily defeated at *Preſton*, in *Lancaſhire*, and with many of his Officers and Soldiers made Priſoner at *Uttoxatter*,

Uttoxatter, in *Staffordſhire*, yet upon Articles that warranted the Safety of their Perſons.

The Duke was carried to *Derby*, and thence to *Aſhby de la Zouch*, where he continued Priſoner till he was conveyed to *Windſor*. Here he was kept under ſtrict Guards, and a cloſe Reſtraint, not being permitted to go without the Caſtle, and but ſeldom to walk in the Court; for the Second Night after he came thither, when he was taking a Turn in the Court after Supper, he had not walked half an Hour, but a Serjeant came to him, and commanded him to his Chamber, though many Soldiers were looking on: He immediately went to his Appartment, and ſaid to the Lord *Bargany*, who was Priſoner with him, that the Serjeant's Carriage was a notable Inſtance of Man's Condition in this Life; ſince he who but a few Days before had commanded ſo many Thouſand Men, was now himſelf commanded by a common Serjeant.

Soon after his Impriſonment, the Parliament ſent Two of their Number, and *Hugh Peters* waiting on them, to examine him, in order to the diſcovering thoſe in *England*, who had Confederated with him in this Engagement: But the Examination held not long, for they could draw nothing from him, though they ſpared neither Promiſes nor Threatnings, to make him think

of redeeming either Life or Liberty at ſo baſe a Rate, his Honour and Conſcience being much dearer to him. He told them, he could not ſay he knew any Thing worth their Pains, but if he did, nothing, no not Fortune it ſelf ſhould ever extort it from him. The Parliament had upon the Matter condemn'd him to perpetual Impriſonment, by ſetting One Hundred Thouſand Pound Sterling for his Ranſom, which Sum could not poſſibly be raiſed by him, the Debts he had contracted for the King's Service, having vaſtly ſunk his Fortune. *Cromwell* came ſeveral times to him in Perſon, to endeavour to draw from him ſome Diſcovery of his Correſpondents in *England*, and gave him great Aſſurances of Life, Rewards, and Secrecy; but he rejected the Propoſition with Indignity, though often repeated; and apprehending they might get his Brother into their Power, he ſent him the following Note, written with the Juice of a Lemmon, but he was before eſcap'd into *Holland.*

I, under the Power of the Sword, and Mercileſs Men, no Favour to be expected, oft examined, but nothing diſcovered, being Ignorant; perhaps you may abide the ſame Trial, beware if you do.

Notwithſtanding his ſtrict Reſtraint at *Windſor*, which was the more ſo, in that he had with Diſdain refuſed all their ſcandalous Offers of Mercy; yet as the King was carried through

through *Windſor*, he prevailed ſo far with his Keepers, as to permit him to have a Sight of his Majeſty; and as he paſſed, he kneeled down, and with a Tranſport of humble Sorrow kiſſed his Hand, and had only time to ſay, *My dear Maſter*: The King embraced him very kindly, and ſaid, *I have been ſo indeed to you*: But they were ſoon parted and ſuffer'd to have no more Diſcourſe.

The Thirtieth of *January* was that fatal and never-to-be-forgotten Day, whereon His moſt Sacred Majeſty, after the Pageantry of a Trial, to add to the Appearance of Juſtice to ſo baſe and horrid a Murder, was Beheaded to the Amazement of all *Europe*: The ſad News of which ſunk the Dukes Thoughts into a deep Sorrow, which he carried with him to his Grave: He well ſaw his own Danger, knowing that thoſe who had broken all the Bond of Loyalty and Duty, were not to be tied by the Faith of Capitulation, or the ſolemn Engagement of Articles, though granted in the Safeſt and Secureſt manner, where either Honour, Faith, or Conſcience were concerned: He therefore deſigned an eſcape from *Windſor* that Night, which was contrived by a faithful Servant of his, Mr. *Cole*, afterward one of the Equerries to King *Charles* II. who during his Impriſonment had Liberty to go and return from *London*, which he did very frequently, bringing him an Account of what paſſed: And the Duke having gained his Keeper, ordered Mr. *Cole*,

Cole to ſend a truſty Servant with two Horſes for *Windſor*, which accordingly he did; adviſing the Duke not to come to the City till ſeven a Clock in the Morning, and then Mr. *Cole* was to come to *London*, and bring him to ſome ſecure Houſe in the City: The Duke at Night about ſhutting the Gates made his eſcape from *Windſor*, without any ſuſpicion, and came to the Place appointed, where his Servants and Horſes waited for him. But he fatally went from his Reſolutions concerted with Mr. *Cole*, and would needs go in the Night to *Southwork*, thinking to have got to Mr. *Owens* Houſe, who was acquainted with the Buſineſs, not conſidering what had been told him, that Guards were placed about the City all Night, ſo that there was no coming to it but in the Day: And all Things concurring to haſten him to his Grave, there happenned to be that Night a Party of Horſe in *Southwark* ſearching for Sir *Lewis Dyves*, and another Perſon who had eſcaped the Night before.

Some of them meeting the Duke about Four in the Morning, where he had long Knocked at the Door, took him and examined him: He told them a very formal Story, of himſelf and his Buſineſs, which at firſt ſatisfied them, but they obſerved, that as he took a Pipe of Tobacco, by them, he burnt ſeveral great Papers to fire it, whereupon they ſearched him, and found ſuch Papers about him as diſcovered him. It was not before

fore the next Morning that he was miſſed at *Windſor* for that Night he made his eſcape, there came an Order from *Cromwell* to make him cloſe Priſoner, and put all his Servants from him. The Governor therefore gave the Captain of the Guard Order about it, but he hearing the Duke was gone to Bed, delayed it till next Morning, and then found he was gone. It being diſcovered that Mr. *Cole* had ordered the Dukes eſcape, many adviſed him to go out of the Way, but he reſolved to dye, rather than leave his Maſter at ſuch a time, and made ſhift to come at him the ſame Evening. When the Duke ſaw him, he lifted up his Hands and ſaid, *It was Gods Will it ſhould be thus.* That Night Mr *Cole* was alſo taken, and Sir *Hardreſs Waller* examined him, but drew nothing from him, whereupon he was made a cloſe Priſoner; yet when the Duke was brought to his Trial, he procured him his Liberty, for the Averment of ſome particulars of his Plea.

The Duke was immediately committed Priſoner at St. *James*'s, in the ſame Room where the Earl of *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen* were Priſoners, and then all ſaw in what Danger his Life was: Whereupon great Endeavours were uſed, and ſtrong Application made in *Scotland* to the Marquis of *Argyle*, who had then the chief Power there, that the Committee of Eſtates would ſo far forward his Preſervation, as to own that what he did was by the Authority

of

of that Kingdom, that ſo, whatever Puniſhment they would lay on him, his Life might not be in Danger. And it had been faithfully promiſed by all the Leaders of that Party, at the Pacification of Sterlin, either to ſave his Life, or make his Death a National Quarrel. But the Marquis of *Argyle* refuſed to interpoſe, and though the Dukes Daughter, the Dutcheſs *Dowager* of *Hamilton*, left no means uneſſayed to prevail on him, yet all was in vain; for he pretended that ſince thoſe in *England* had Murdered their King, notwithſtanding their Commiſſioners proteſting againſt it, it was not to be expected that their Interpoſition in other Things could be of any Weight; nor was it fit they ſhould any more addreſs to the Murderers of their Sovereign; ſo that all hopes of any Mediation that way failed; and not only ſo, but *Lambert* being prevailed on by the offer of a good Sum to claim the Duke as his Priſoner, ſome Letters came from *Scotland* about it, upon which *Lambert* was adviſed not to inſiſt on the Demand.

Thus all Things contributed to the Fall of this Great Man; meerly Sacrificed for the great Duty, Faith and Honour, he owed to his Sovereign; whoſe Royal Blood not having ſatisfied the Cruelty of the New Uſurpers, their next deſign was againſt all thoſe who had ſerved him with the greateſt Loyalty; yet they choſe to varniſhover their mercileſs and perfidious Cruelty with ſome Colours

and

Appearances of Juſtice, and therefore ordained the Pretended Court of Juſtice to proceed againſt him, on the 6th of *February* enſuing his Majeſties Murder, he was brought to his Trial, and honoured to be the firſt of thoſe who followed their Royal Maſter, in that Glorious Martyrdom.

Of the injuſtice of his Trial, and manner of ſuffering Death, much has been ſaid in our Publick Hiſtories; but there is one Piece not ſo frequently to be met with, which I ſhall therefore inſert here. It is the Speech he delivered the Night before he died, before many Witneſſes, and was after Printed by his Brother, from the Original Copy, and contains many Things very Curious, and proper to have Place in theſe brief Memoirs.

'I know you that are here to be true and
'and faithful to me, I will therefore
'in your hearing ſay ſomewhat in order to
'my ſelf, and to my preſent Condition,
'and give you alſo this Copy of it, which
'after I am gone may be thought neceſſary
'to be publiſhed, as the laſt Teſtimony of
'my Loyalty to my King, for whom I now
'die, and of my Affection to my Country,
'for the purſuance of whoſe Pious and Loy-
'al Commands I am now to ſuffer.

'That my Religion hath always been and
'ſtill is Orthodox, I am confident no Man
'doubts; I ſhall not therefore need to ſay
'much to that particular, only that I am of

'the true Reformed Proteſtant Religion, as 'it is profeſſed in the Church of *Scotland*.

'I take God to Witneſs, that I have been 'conſtantly a Loyal and faithful Subject and 'ſervant to his late Majeſty, (in ſpight of 'all Malice and Calumny:) I have had the 'Honour, ſince my Child-hood to attend 'and be near him, till now of late: And 'during all that Time I obſerved in him as 'eminent Virtues, and as little Vice, as in 'any Man I ever knew; and I dare ſay he 'never harboured thought of countenancing 'Popery in any of his Dominions, otherwiſe 'than was allowed by the Laws of *England*, 'and that among all his Subjects there could 'not be found a better Proteſtant than him-'ſelf; and ſurely alſo he was free from ha-'ving any intent to exerciſe any Tyranny or 'Abſolute Power over his Subjects: and 'that he hath been ſo unfortunate, I rather 'impute the Cauſe of it to the Sins of 'his People than to his own.

'For my own part, I do proteſt never to 'have ſwerved from that true Allegeance 'which was due to him, and that hath con-'ſtantly been payed (to my Comfort I ſpeak 'it) to his Progenitors by my Anceſtors, 'for many Ages, without Spot or Diſho-'nour, and I hope ſhall be ſtill by my Suc-'ceſſors to his Poſterity.

'I do heartily wiſh well to and pray for 'his Royal Iſſue, and ſhall die a true and Loyal Subject to his eldeſt Son *Charles* II.

the

'the unqueſtionable King by right, of all his 'Father's Kingdoms. I hope (though I do 'not live to ſee it) that God's Juſtice and 'Goodneſs will in his own time eſtabliſh 'him on the Throne of his Father, which 'I doubt not ſome of you will ſee come to 'paſs; I am confident, till then, and ſo 'long as Men deeply plunged in Guilt and 'Self-Intereſt, uſurp Power and Govern-'ment, theſe Kingdoms will fall ſhort either 'of Peace, or any other permanent Happi-'neſs.

'I ſpeak this from my juſt Affection to 'the Royal Race, and much Compaſſion to 'his Majeſties Subjects; but not from any 'Malice, Anger, or deſire of Revenge a-'gainſt any, for what I have, or am to ſuf-'fer; for I forgive all Men.

'It is well known what Calumnies and 'Aſperſions have been thrown upon me, by 'Men of ſeveral Parties and Intereſts, not 'excepting thoſe who would ſeem to carry 'much Affection to his late Majeſty, as if I 'had expreſſed Diſſervice or Diſloyalty unto 'him; the which howMalicious and Groun-'leſs they were, I appeal to God, who with 'my own Conſcience clearly beareth Wit-'neſs of my Innocency therein; and I ſhall 'beg Mercy from him, to whom I am now 'to give an Account of all Thoughts and 'Actions, as I have ſtill had a faithful and 'Loyal Heart to my Maſter.

'It

'It hath been a General Complaint, that 'I perſuaded His Majeſty to paſs the Act of 'continuing this Parliament. I diſpute not, 'whether the doing of it at that time might 'have been reputed good or bad, but ſurely 'it was not I that did perſuade it.

'Neither did I at all deal with his Maje-'ſty for his Conſent to the Bill of Attainder 'for taking away the Life of the Earl of '*Strafford*, whoſe great Parts and Affection, 'it is known I highly valued: Yet ſome have 'been pleaſed to attribute to me the Cauſe 'of that Conceſſion; but were his Majeſty 'now living, I am confident he would pub-'lickly clear me in both theſe, as he hath 'been pleaſed many times in private former-'ly to do.

'And truly I am not conſcious to my ſelf '(though I have been for many Years a Pri-'vy-Councellor to him) of ever giving him 'any Advice that tended to other Ends (as 'I conceived) than the Good and Peace of 'his Majeſty and his Dominions.

'It hath been rumoured ſince my laſt Im-'priſonment, that I ſhould confeſs my ſelf to 'be the greateſt Inſtrument under his Ma-'jeſty (by making uſe of his *Scotiſh* Great 'Seal) for authorizing the War in *Ireland*: 'A Report ſo falſe and ſimple, as in my O-'pinion Judicious and Honeſt Men will not 'believe it. And truly as I am free from 'having Hand therein in any manner of 'Way, ſo I am of nothing more confident, than

'than that his Majeſty was alſo abſolutely 'free thereof, and that he was not in any 'Caſe a Cauſer or Countenancer of thoſe '*Iriſh* Troubles.

'I have been often examined touching 'Perſons of ſeveral Qualities within this 'Kingdom, that (as is ſuppoſed) did invite 'into *England* the late Army from *Scotland*, 'or promiſed Aſſiſtance after their coming; 'and of late much Perſuaſion hath been u-'ſed with me to that purpoſe, as that upon 'my Diſcovery thereof depended the only 'means of my Preſervation. I will not ſay 'that I had any thing to reveal which would 'have been ſatisfactory, but this I deſire you 'to atteſt to the World, that I have not ac-'cuſed or ſaid any thing that may reflect on 'any Man, of what degree ſoever, within 'the King's Dominions: And indeed it was 'ſo contrary to my Conſcience, and ſo dero-'gatory to my Honour, that if I had been a-'ble, yet ſhould I never have prejudiced a-'ny in that Nature, though it had been to 'ſave me a hundred Lives.

'Touching that foul and fenceleſs Slander, 'that I betrayed the Army under my Con-'duct, the Care and Pains that I took to 'prevent the Loſs of it, and the near Ap-'proach of my ſuffering for it, will, I ſup-'poſe, aboundantly contradict this Aſper-'ſion. I was ſatisfied with the Juſtneſs and 'Neceſſity of that Engagement, upon the 'Grounds of the Declaration of the Parlia-

'ment

'ment of *Scotland*, fearing then the ſad Con-
'fuſions which have ſince followed here,
'both in Church and State; and particular-
'ly the fatal Fall of my Maſter, to the Pre-
'ſervation of whoſe Perſon I was by Obliga-
'tion, and Natural Affections as paſſionately
'tied, as I could be by Duty and Allegiance.

'And now I confeſs, I am void of all Ran-
'cour or Diſpleaſure againſt any, though I
'am within few Hours to die, adjudged by
'a lawleſs and arbitrary Court, of pur-
'poſe Erected (as is ſaid) to deſtroy my Ma-
'ſter and ſome of his Servants, and for a
'great part compoſed of Men mechanick,
'and unfit to be Judges, my Death being
'decreed (right or wrong) as is reported,
'before ever the Trial began. And though
'my Death is no leſs than Murder, yet I for-
'give all, and pray to God to do it, and
'that my Blood be not laid to their Charge,
'or to ſome powerful and eminent Mens,
'who, as is thought, upon ſome ſiniſtrous
'Ends have many Months ſince contrived my
'Deſtruction, which now is ready to take
'Effect.

'And though I have anſwered to that
'Court, in regard to the Juſtneſs of my De-
'fence, which I thought would have weigh-
'ed with them; yet I never thought, nor
'do I acknowledge any Juriſdiction or Law-
'ful Authority in the ſame, notwithſtand-
'ing I do all with Chriſtian Humility ſub-
'mit

'mit to the Puniſhment, which for my o-
'ther Perſonal Sins the Lord hath juſtly
'brought upon me.

'I ſhould have ſpoken more, yet would
'not have ſaid ſo much, but for fear leſt
'either my Memory might ſlip it on the
'Scaffold, or that the Rudeneſs of ſome Peo-
'ple, by Noiſe or otherwiſe, might have in-
'terrupted me ſpeaking on this Subject. So
'I thank God I am well prepared. God
'bleſs you, remember me to all my Friends.

'I know I have been a very great Sinner,
'yet through Faith I have an Aſſurance, that
'God will forgive me, and have Mercy up-
'on me, through the alone Suffering and
'Interceſſion of Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour.
'*Amen.*

It would be Endleſs to expreſs how much the Death of this Great Man was Lamented by all that knew him, and the Reader will very eaſily imagine it when he conſults his Character, together with the Hiſtorical part of his Life already recounted.

Thus lived and died *James*, Duke of *Hamilton*, who was born at *Hamilton* the 19th of *June* 1606. His Parents were, as I have ſaid, *James*, Marquis of *Hamilton*, and the Lady *Anne Cunningham*, Daughter to the Earl of *Glencairne*. He was of a middle Stature, his Body well ſhaped, and his Limbs proportioned, and ſtraight; in his laſt Years he inclined to Fatneſs; his Complecti-

on

on and Hair were Black, but his Countenance was Pleaſant, and full of Life, and ſhewed a great Sweetneſs of Diſpoſition: His Health was regular, ſuitable to his Diet, and free of ſickneſs or Pain, only in his laſt Years he was a little ſubject to the Stone: But when his Body was opened, all his Inwards were found ſound and entire, ſo that had not that fatal ſtroke brought his Days to an unhappy Period, he might probably have been very long lived.

At the Time of his Father's coming to Court, the Duke of *Buckingham* (being then in great Favour with King *James*, and deſiring to ſtrengthen his Family with noble Alliances) agreed on a Marriage betwixt him and the Lady *Mary Feilding*, Daughter to *William* Earl of *Denbigh*, and the Lady *Suſanna Villiers*, Siſter to the Duke of *Buckingham*, upon which his Father ſent for him to Court, to be married when he was fourteen Years of Age; and the Lady deſigned for him but ſeven. This broke off the Courſe of his Studies in which he had been educated till then in *Scotland*: And though he was ſent afterwards to the Univerſity of *Oxford*, yet the interruption, his ſtay at Court put to his Education in Letters, was ſuch that he never recovered it. When the Years of Conſumating the intended Marriage were come, he was forced to it, not without ſome Averſion, occaſioned partly by the diſproportion of their Ages, and partly by ſome other ſecret Conſiderations.

He

He lived with his Lady for ſome Years in no good Terms, and that concurring with other Motives, made him leave the Court upon his Father's Death: But her excellent Qualities did afterwards overcome that Averſion into as much Affection as he was capable of; and it was no wonder, for ſhe was a Lady of great and ſingular worth, and her Perſon was noble and graceful like the handſome Race of the *Villiers*'s. But to ſuch as knew her well, the Virtues of her Mind were far more reſpondent. She was educated from a Child in the Court, and eſteemed and honoured by all in it, and by none more than the late King, who as he was one of the Chaſteſt Men (not to ſay Princes) ſo he was a perfect honourer of all Vertuous Ladies. She was Lady of the Queen's Bed-Chamber, and admitted by her Majeſty into an entire Confidence and Friendſhip; and not only was her Honour unſtained, but even her Fame continued untouched with Calumny, ſhe being ſo ſtrict to the ſevereſt Rules, as never to admit of thoſe Follies which paſs in that Style for Gallantry. ſhe was a moſt affectionate and dutiful Wife, and uſed to ſay, *ſhe had the greateſt reaſon to bleſs God, for having given her ſuch a Huſband, whom ſhe loved perfectly, ſo ſhe was not aſhamed to obey.* But that which crowned all her other Perfections was the deep ſenſe ſhe had of Religion: She lived and died in the Communion of the

Church of *England*, and was a very devout Perſon.

She died the tenth of *May*, in the Year 1638, and left her Lord a moſt afflicted Perſon: and though his Spirit was too great to ſink under any Burden, yet all his Life after he rembembred her with much tender Affection. She died indeed in a good time for her own Repoſe, when her Lord was beginning to ingage in the Affairs of *Scotland*, which proved ſo fatal both to his Quiet and Life.

But the Diſtractions of the following Years concurring with the Affectionate Remembrance of his Lady, which rather increaſed than abated with time, kept him from the thoughts of re-engaging in a married Life. Neither did the death of his Sons ſhake him from that purpoſe, ſince he had ſo noble a Succeſſor ſecured for his Family in the Perſon of his Brother; and next to him he had two Daughters who were dear to him, far beyound the ordinary rate of Children, on whom he got his Dignity and Fortune entailed, in Caſe his Brother died without Sons.

His Religion was Proteſtant and Reformed; and as he was a Zealous Enemy to Popery, ſo he was no leſs earneſt for a good Correſpondence among all the Reformed Churches, in particular betwixt the *Lutherans* and *Calveniſts*, and therefore was a great Patron and Promoter of the Deſigns of Mr. *Dury*, who beſtowed ſo much of his Travel, and ſo many

ny of his Years in driving on that desired Union: For I find by many of *Dury*'s Letters to him, that as he owed a great part of his Subsistence to the Money and Places were procured for him by the Duke, both from the King and my Lord of *Canterbury*, so his best Addresses to the *Swedish* Court and the Princes of *Germany*, were those he had from him; and therefore he continued giving him an Account of his Success, as to his Patron and Benefactor.

As for our unhappy Differences which have divided this Island, he judged neither the one nor the other worth the Blood was shed in the Quarrel; and the excess he had seen on both Hands cured him from being a Zealot for either. He was dissatisfied with the Courses some of the Bishops had followed before the Troubles began, and could not but impute their first Rise to the Provocations had been given by them: But he was no less offended with the violent Spirits of most of the Covenanters and particularly with their opposition to the Royal Authority. As long as the King employed him for the preservation of Episcopacy, he served him faithfully; and though afterwards he pressed him much for his consent to the Abolition of that Government in *Scotland*, it was not from any Prejudice himself had at it, but flowed only from the Affection he had to his Majesty, since he saw it could not have been preserved at that time without very visible hazard both

to King and Country: And ſo he took the National Covenant at the King's Command, *Anno* 1641, in the Parliament of *Scotlond.*

He was all his Life a great honourer of true Piety where-ever he ſaw it, notwithſtanding any miſtakes that might have been mingled with it; ſo that whatſoever particular ground of Reſentments he had at any who (he judged) feared God, the conſideration of that did overcome and ſtifle it: But his firſt Impriſonment in the Year 1643 was the happieſt time of his Life, for there he had a truer Proſpect of all things ſet before him, which wrought a change on him diſcernible by thoſe who knew him beſt. This made him frequently acknowledge God's great goodneſs to him in that Reſtraint: For then he learned to diſpiſe the fooliſh Pleaſures of Sin, and the debaſing Vanities of a falſe World, which had formerly poſſeſſed too great a Room in his Thoughts. It is true he choſe to be Religious in Secret, and therefore gave no other vent to it in his Diſcourſe than what he judged himſelf obliged to, which was cheifly to his Children, to whom he always recommended the Fear and Love of God, as that wherein himſelf had found his only Joy and Repoſe. The following Words are a part of one of his Letters to them, which he wrote before his laſt going to *England.*

In

IN all Croſſes, even of the higheſt Nature, there is no other Remedy but Patience, and with alacrity to ſubmit to the Good-will and Pleaſure of our Glorious Creator, and be contented therewith; which I adviſe you to learn in your tender Age, having enjoyed that Bleſſing my ſelf, and found great Comfort in it, while involved in the middle of infinite Dangers.

He was a conſtant Reader of the Scriptures, and during his Impriſonment they were his only Companions, other Books being for a great while denied him; and he making a vertue of that neceſſity became a diligent and ſerious Reader of thoſe Holy Oracles, and ſtudied to take the Meaſures of his Actions from them, and not from the fooliſh Dreams, and Conjectures of *Aſtrology*, though the enquiring after, and taking notice of theſe, be among the injurous Imputations Obloquly faſtened upon him. But ſo far was he from any regard to them, that an *Aſtrologer* coming to him in *Germany* with a Paper, wherein he ſaid he ſhould read a noble Fortune, which, after he had ſent him away, threw into the Fire, without once opening it: And indeed he was ſo far from flattering himſelf with the hopes of great Succeſs in any of his Undertakings, that he rather apprehended himſelf under ſome inauſpicious Star, that croſſed all his Attempts, which made him in his latter Years long for ſome ſecret Retirement out of the

the noiſe of Buſineſs. And in his laſt Expedi-on into *England*, he was ſo far from promiſing himſelf great matters, that the Night beforehe marched, when he was taking his leave of one of his Friends, he ſaid, he not only knew that ſuch Attempts were doubtful, but apprehended that what he was then engaging in, might prove not only dangerous, but deſtructive to himſelf; nevertheleſs, he was reſolved either to go through with it ſucceſsfully, or to periſh in the Attempt, and never ſurvive it; adding, that the laſt was what he looked for, and therefore he took his leave, as never to meet again

But notwithſtanding all the Misfortunes that either lay upon him, or did hang over him, he preſerved the greateſt calmneſs in his Mind that could be imagined, which appeared in an unclouded ſerenity that dwelt always on his looks, and diſcovered him ever well pleaſed. And though the greatneſs of his Mind, and the ſweetneſs of his Natural Temper might have contributed much to that Tranquillity; yet certainly it took its riſe from another Source, and flowed chiefly from his Confidence in God, and the Security he had in the Innocency of his own Heart.

His Accompliſhments were great, though cultivated only by his own Thoughts, and improved by Experience; for he was no great Scholar, neither was he bred abroad: His Judgment was profound, his Foreſight great, his Style was ſmooth and without Affectation,

for

for he ſpoke with a native Eloquence. One advantage he had beyond all he engaged with in debating, that he was never fretted nor exaſperated, and ſpake at the ſame rate without clamouring or eagerneſs. He had ſeen ſo much of the baſeneſs of many Men, that it inclined him in the end to Jelouſie: Which made him reſerved with moſt People.

For his Affection and Duty to his Prince it hath appeared ſo much in his Hiſtory, that little remains to be ſaid in his Character. It is true ſome were pleaſed to ſay that he treated with Forreign Princes, for ſeconding him in his own pretentions to the Crown of *Scotland*; but this Forgery was ſo ill-grounded that he had ſignal Proofs to the contrary. When he firſt engaged in the *German* Deſign one wrote to him from the *Spaniſh* Court in in the Name of the Miniſters of that Monarch, making him great Promiſes if he would deſiſt from it: but his Anſwer was, that Duty, Gratitude, and Inclination concurred to tie him inſeparably to his Maſter's Intereſts, and that no conſideration either of Hope and Fear was able to ſhake him from his Fidelity to them. Neither did any thing obſtruct his being more imployed and truſted in *Germany*, than his conſtant adhering to the King's Pleaſure and Intereſt; for had he given himſelf up to the will of the *Swediſh* King, he would have been quickly put in another Capacity, and might have had about him one of the beſt

beſt Armies in *Germany*; ſince all the *Scotiſh* Officers, who at that time were many and conſiderable, inclined to have formed an Army apart, and ſerved under him, had the King of *Sweden* given way to it.

When he was claiming his Eſtate and Rights of *Chaſtleherault* in *France*, Cardinal *Richelieu* appointed Sir *James Hamilton*, whom he had ſent over to negociate that Affair, to tell him he ſhould be not only ſetled in that, but have more likewiſe, if he would enter into a cloſe Correſpondence with him, and be a faithful Servant to the *French* Crown. His anſwer was, that he owed indeed the greateſt Duty and Dependance to the King of *France*, of any Prince next his own King; and therefore would faithfully ſerve all his Intereſts after the King's. But nothing was to be expected from him that might upon any Conſideration prejudice his Maſters Service, neither would he engage in any Correſpondence without his Knowledge and Allowance: adding that he was confident his Eminence was too faithful a Miniſter to that Monarch whom he ſerved, to like him the worſe for his Honeſty to his own Maſter. Theſe Inſtances will evince how far he was from pretending to any Intereſts in his Correſpondence with forreign Princes different from the King's, whom he ſerved with as much Affection as Duty. And indeed the Love he bore to his Perſon was no leſs than the Duty he payed to his

his Authority, for he did not deny but the former made him digeſt ſome things, which perhaps otherwiſe he had not born ſo well. This kept him far from villifying his Majeſty's Perſon, or ſpeaking unhandſomly of him, as ſome accuſed him. It may be ſuppoſed that had he been Guilty of that, it would have appeared more to his Friends than Strangers, ſince Prudence would have taught a reſerve to them, though Duty had not enjoyned it: But thoſe who converſed moſt with him, ſaw ſo much of his Affection and Eſteem for that Prince, that many of them have told the Writer he was the furtheſt from it that could be, ſince he ſtudied by all means to infuſe that value in others for him, which poſſeſſed his own Mind. It is true his Calmneſs made many who knew not how natural that Temper was to him, ſuſpect he was not in earneſt, becauſe he did not bluſter out in heats of Paſſion upon every occaſion; for as he was not eaſily inflamed, ſo he could not well perſonate a Paſſion when he was free of it. All his Advices to the King were for ſettling matters without hazarding on a bloody Deciſion, knowing well, that no Quarrels are ſo mortal, as thoſe that follow upon the cloſeſt Ties; therefore he was far from acting that infamous Office of Incendiary, which ſome faſtened on him. And it was his ſuggeſting and preſſing gentler Methods, which engaged ſome fiery Spirits into ſuch oppoſition to him: And from hence it was, that when he was

put to a Review of thoſe advices he offered to his Majeſty, he ſaid, *He would not ſtudy to juſtifie them all, ſince he was far from the vanity of magnifying his own Counſels; but all he could anſwer for, was his good Intention, which was not to be meaſured by Succeſs.*

As for his diſcloſing the King's Deſigns to his Enemies, Hell could have deviſed nothing further from Truth: For not only does the ſilence of all his Letters to him refute that, but when afterwards ſome who had been leading Men in the Covenant broke with him, with ſuch Animoſity, and when by ſome of thoſe much Pains was taken, to poſſeſs the King with Jelouſies of him, it is not to be doubted but if there had been a ſhadow of Truth for thoſe Imputations, ſome particular would have appeared, or ſome Letters had been preſerved to have juſtified theſe Inſinuations. But nothing was ſo much as ever pretended for this, beyond Whiſpers and general Stories.

If all his Friends were not at all times ſo fixed to their Duty as they ought to have been, that left no Blame upon him; for no Man can be lyable for his Friends, nor charged with the faults of other Men: But when any of them ſtrayed from their Duty, his Friendſhip made him not the leſs but the more ſevere to them; and many of them being yet alive, have witneſſed with what honeſt Zeal he always ſtudied to engage them to a Cordial adherence to the King's Service. But to ſum

up

up all, thoſe who after they ſee how in his laſt Speech delivered at his Death, he begs *Pardon and Mercy from God, as he hath been a faithful Servant to his Maſter.* and do ſtill retain their Jealouſies, are beyond the cure of any Perſuaſion; for none but a deſperate Atheiſt could have adventured ſo far with a defiled Conſcience. Neither can it be alledged here, that all in thoſe times pretended to be for the King; for perhaps many thought the Methods they took were the beſt, for ſecuring and ſetling his Throne. But had the Duke been faulty as the World accuſed him, it muſt not have been a Miſtake in his Thoughts, but a Crookedneſs of his Heart, a betraying of his Truſt, and a falſifying of his Engagements: And who can ſuppoſe, that the Parties who were prevalent both in *England* and *Scotland* at the time of his his Death, and purſued him and his Memory with all the exceſſes of Malice, would not have diſcovered ſuch Treachery to load him with the greater Infamy, if there had been any Grounds for it, ſince they were the Perſons who muſt have known it beſt?

As for that ridiculous and Deviliſh Forgery of his pretending to the Crown of *Scotland*, never any were alledged to have heard a hint of it from himſelf, no not in railery; and certainly if ſo great a Deſign had ever been diſcovered to any Perſon, it muſt have been to his Friends, and he muſt have taken Pains to have made ſome Party ſure for it: But for

this nothing was ever whiſpered but Surmiſes, and thoſe hanged ſo ill together, that they retained not ſo much as the ſhadow of Probability.

For his Country, as he had as great Intereſt in it as any Subject, ſo his Affection yielded to none. And it is certain, that if his Counſels to the King ſeem at any time to fall ſhort of the higher ways of Authority, nothing but his Affection for his Country gave him the Byaſs; for he confeſſed, *The thing in the World at which he had the greateſt horror, was the engaging in a Civil War with his Country-Men.*

He was far from any Deſigns of engroſſing either Power or Places of advantage to himſelf, or his Friends; nor was he ever the occaſion of any Burden to the Country, for the Aſſignments he had on ſome Taxations, were only for Payment of the Debts he had contracted by his Majeſty's Command for his Expedition to *Germany*. And ſo little fond was he of being the King's Commiſſioner in *Scotland*, that in divers of his Letters he propoſed others to his Majeſty for that Truſt, proteſting it was a Place which of all other he hated moſt; and when he ſaw Jealouſies taken at his being ſo long in that Truſt, as if the King had been to govern *Scotland* by a Commiſſioner, he preſſed his Majeſty to change him; ſo careful was he to avoid any thing which might be a Greivance to his Country, and retard the King's Service.

The

The Duke was very ſumptuous and magnificent in his way of Living, but abhorred that debauched cuſtom of Entertainments by drinking, and was an Example of Temperance; which coſt him dear in *Denmark*, where he refuſing the ordinary Entertainments of that Court in drinking, was not only ill uſed, but made pay a great Sum under the pretence of Paſſage-dues. Temperance was particularly recommended to him by his Majeſty, when he went to *Germany*; and his returning from that Court without once tranſgreſſing theſe Laws, was ſuch an evidence of his obſerving them, that afterwards few would tempt him to thoſe Exceſſes.

Of all Vertues he eſteemed Ingenuity and Candor moſt, as that which was the Ground of all Confidence, and the only Security among Men; and therefore recommended it cheifly to others, and ſtudied to obſerve it moſt himſelf. I confeſs when I conſider his whole Method of framing and carrying on his Deſigns, how ſtraight and candid they were, if I oft admire his Invention, I do much more eſteem the Ingenuity of his proceedings; for I never find him vailing Truth with a Lye, nor carrying on Buſineſs with a Cheat: And to ſpeak freely, the greateſt departing from theſe Rules appeared in the Declaration emitted in *April* 1648; where among other things the Parliament declared, *They would not admit his Majeſty to the Exerciſe of his Royal Authority, till he by Oath obliged himſelf to ſwear, and*

and ratify the Covenant. The Duke ſtuck long 'ere he would give way to this, at length finding the violent Party that croſſed the Engagement implacable, and being deſirous to withdraw from them all Colours or pretences for oppoſing that Deſign, he yielded to it; and at that time ſaid to a Friend of his that the Preſervation of the King went ſo near his Heart, that he could refuſe nothing which might make way for that. But it was far from his thoughts to ſeclude the King from the Exerciſe of his Royal Power, and therefore it was excuſed at the ſame time, both by the Letters his Brother wrote to the King, and in the Inſtructions ſent by Sir *William Fleming* to the Queen and Prince, and by Sir *William Bellenden* to the Prince of *Orange.* There is alſo a Journal which he took with his own Hand of what paſſed in that Parliament, wherein he wrote, when that Act was put to the Vote, *that (though he gave his Vote to it) it was not his own Opinion.* And thus I lay open both his Fault, and the Temptation that led him to it, ſo that if ever any Officious Lye of a venial Guilt, ſure this was: Yet who knows if among the holy and wiſe Counſels, for which God might have permitted that Armies miſcarriage as a Puniſhment for our other Sins, we not being ripe for a Deliverance, this departing from the ſevere Rules of Ingenuity and Virtue might not have been one procuring Cauſe; but this is the only Inſtance of this Nature I have met with in the

the whole Survey of his Actions and Papers.

As for the mildneſs and gentleneſs of his Nature, no Day went over him without giving new diſcoveries of it. For it was very hard to provoke him, but no leſs eaſy to appeaſe him: He was not unequal in his Humour, but as one left him they found him, being always cheerful and ever the ſame. And whatever aſpirings might have been in his Mind, his Carriage was freeſt of haughtineſs that could be both to Equals and Inferiours: He was both eaſy to addreſs to, and affable in his Converſe, and laboured to oblige all People. And in his Command he was far from the common Practice of many, who are very careful to raiſe all the Money they can, and to oppreſs the Countries where they March or Quarter. It is true the Earl of *Calander* did draw as much Money as was poſſible from the Places they paſſed through with their Army, but the Duke would meddle with none of it: And when *Calander* offered 450 Pound to his Steward, he would not touch it till he ſpoke with his Maſter; who charged him ſtrictly not to meddle with it, and acknowledged he had done like a faithful Servant in not taking it.

It was ſo impoſſible for him to reſent Injuries, that when ſome of his Vaſſals had offended him, ſo that he was reſolved to make them ſenſible of it whenever it lay in his Way, it no ſooner came to be ſo, but their firſt

Addreſs

Addreſs broke through all his Diſpleaſure; and never did the ſettled Compoſure of his Mind appear more than at *Utoxater*, when in the midſt of all that Diſorder he preſerved his uſual Temper. The Generoſity of his Mind made him ſo tender towards all in Trouble, even though deſerved, that he was ſcarce capable of puniſhing any, even for their Faults. A pretty Inſtance of this was, that a Woman having ſtolen his Plate, and being quickly found with it, he was asked what ſhould be done with her; to which he anſwered, it ſeemed ſhe wanted Mony, wherefore he ordered to give her a Piece, and ſend her away. And when in the Year 1648, a zealous Woman threw a Stone at him, as he paſſed through the Streets, all he ſaid was, *he wondred what the Woman ailed, for he was never an Enemy to the Sex:* Nor would he ſuffer any ſevere Sentence to be executed on her, but when her Hand was ordered to be cut off, he procured her Pardon, and ſaid, *The Stone had miſſed him, therefore he was to take care that their Sentence might miſs her.*

To conclude, I ſhall not offer to tell you how much his Death was lamented by all who knew him, for then I ſhould never get off: I ſhall therefore only ſet down two Letters, the one of Condolance from the *Queen Mother*, another from his Majeſty who now Reigns to the Earl of *Lanerick*, then by his Brother's Death Duke of *Hamil-*

ton,

ton, which expreſſeth the value his Majeſty had of the Engagement.

Couſin,

INtending every Day for a great while to have diſpatch'd Rainsford, *I have not hitherto done that which my ſenſe of the Loſs of my late Couſin the Duke of* Hamilton *ſhould have drawn from me long ago. which was to expreſs the Concern I had for his Death: And though my own inexpreſſible Loſs hath made me incapable of feeling any thing elſe that can befal me in this World, yet it hath not made me inſenſible of your Brothers Death, both on his own Account and on yours. For Conſolation, it is not eaſy for me to offer you any, being incapable of taking it to my ſelf. We muſt turn us to God, and receive it of him, for this World cannot afford it: Yet if to bear a ſhare in your Affliction, may in any way leſſen ſome part of your Grief, I am aſſured you ſhall find an allay to it; and I deſire you may believe, that no Perſon wiſhes you more Happineſs than my ſelf, who ſhall ſtudy on all occaſions to make it appear, that I am with all ſincerity,*

Couſin,

Paris 22th.
April, 1649.

Your very good, and
affectionate Couſin,

HENRIETA MARIA, R.

My Lord Hamilton,

I Am very ſorry that I could not have your Advice in my late Proceedings with Mr. Winram, *who is now returned with my Letters (the Copies whereof I ſend you herewith;) but the Treaty being appointed ſo near you at* Breda, *I ſhall deſire your Preſence at it, and and ſhall much depend upon your Advice, aſſuring you that I will take care of your Intereſts, and of all thoſe honeſt Men that engaged with your Brother, equally with that which concerns my ſelf. I hope the calling them* a Commitee of Eſtates, *with ſuch cautions as I uſe in the Letter, will bring no prejudice to you nor to your Friends. And I will be careful to eſtabliſh your Intereſt by the Treaty, without which I conceive I cannot have much aſſurance. I pray uſe your beſt endeavours to your Friends in* Scotland, *to make their Demands moderate and reaſonable; and then I ſhall not doubt of a good Iſſue, and ſuch as may enable me to expreſs, how much I am,*

Jerſey 24th, of Jan.
1649. Your very affectionate
Friend and Couſin,

CHARLES, R.

William Duke of *Hamilton*, was born at *Hamilton* on the 14th of *December* in the Year 1616, being ten Years younger than his Brother,

ther, and of the ſame Parents. He was of a middle Stature, his Complexion black, but very agreeable, and his whole Air and Mien was noble and ſprightful: His Youth diſcovered with an extraordinary Capacity, ſo much Ingenuity, that Candor ſeemed in him not ſo much the Effect of Vertue as Nature, ſince from a Child he could never upon any temtation be made to lye.

When his Father died he left him very young to the care of his Mother, and the kindneſs of his Brother, with a very ſmall Proviſion: But he confeſſed he never miſſed a Father in his Brother, who kept him not only at the Univerſity of *Glaſgow*, where he was educated, but likewiſe in his Travels at a rate, and with an Equipage ſuitable to his Quality. He travelled ſome Years in *France*, where he was very much eſteemed, and invited to ſtay in that Court with very honourable Offers. He had a good Foundation of Literature, though he was no great Scholar; and what he once acquired, was rather improved than loſt by him.

He returned from his Travels when he was one and twenty Years of Age, and was look'd on both by the King and Queen as a rare and highly promiſing Gentleman; and now that he was of an Age capable of it, his Brother and he entred into an entire Friendſhip. And finding him ſo rarely accompliſhed, and fitted for the greateſt Affairs, he kept him with himſelf at Court; and though he depended

wholly upon his Brothers Generoſity for his Subſiſtance, yet he was far from making him feel that, either by upbraiding him with his Favours, or by diſparaging him with any neglect, (Faults too commonly incident to elder Brothers, when the younger are obliged to ſtoop to them.) But as Lord *William* was too high-minded to have endured the leaſt appearance of thoſe, ſo his Brother was not capable of giving him any ſuch hard Uſage, but allowed him all things ſuitable to his Rank, and carried towards him with Reſpect as well as Affection.

He continued in the Court ſome Years, being much eſteemed by all ſorts there: For as his Addreſs was becoming, ſo his converſe was full of Life and Wit, and he was a great Maſter in all his Exerciſes. But his Brother was more careful to think of a Fortune for him than himſelf was, and therefore provided a Marriage for him, that had the Expectation of a vaſt Fortune, Lady *Elizabeth Maxwel*, eldeſt Daughter to the Earl of *Dirleton*, (who had no Sons, and but one other Daughter.) It was not without reluctancy that he was engaged that way, but his Brothers Authority over him was abſolute; ſo he was married to her in the Year 1638, and continued ſtill at Court. He had by her four Daughters that ſurvived him, Lady *Anne*, Lady *Elizabeth*, Lady *Mary*, and Lady *Margaret*.

Afterwards

Afterwards he endeavoured to be made Maſter of the Horſe to the Queen, but Her Majeſty was engaged to another, which was much reſented by him, and made him reſolve on leaving the Court and going into *France*. This grieved his Brother extremely, and both the King and Queen ſent him a Promiſe, that if he would give over the thoughts of that Journey, he ſhould be preferred to whatever Place fell, that were fit for him. And a little after that, the Earl of *Sterlin* died, who was Secretary of State for *Scotland*, and the Queen moved the King to advance him to that Truſt, to which his Majeſty did willingly conſent: For as he was glad of all Opportunities of expreſſing his kindneſs to his Brother, ſo he ſaw in himſelf that which made him judge him both worthy and capable of any Imployment; and thereupon he made him Secretary. and created him Earl of *Lanerick*. He had every thing but Years to recommend him to the higheſt Truſt, being Witty, Conſiderate, Brave, Generous, and reſolute to the higheſt Degree. He ſaw his Engagement in Affairs fell to be in ſuch a diſordered time, that he could not have appeared on the Scene with more diſadvantage. He had no experience at all in *Scotiſh* Affairs, but for that he reſolved to truſt to his Brothers Informations and Advices; which did not only continue till he came to underſtand Perſons and Affairs better, but that noble Pair were all their lives united with the Bonds

Bonds of Friendſhip ſtraiter than thoſe of their Blood. Calumny got no acceſs to their Ears, nor Emulation and Jealouſie room in their Hearts; and as their Friendſhip was never broke off with a Diſcord, ſo it was not ſo much as marred by a Miſtake. They had both Intereſts, Friends and Quarrels in common; they were Pleaſant in their Lives, nor was their Friendſhip divided in their Deaths, as appeared from the interchanged Preferences they gave one anothers Children in their laſt Wills.

Both of them had peculiar Excellencies; yet even in thoſe things, wherein the one excelled the other, there remained enough to term them both Eminent. The Elder had the greater Temper and command of his Paſſions, but this made him ſometimes fall ſhort of that Acrimony and Authority which ſuch Times and Services required. The younger was more forward and reſolute, yet ſometimes this left his Temper behind it. The Elder as he had the advantage of Years and Experience, ſo he had the deeper Apprehenſions, and the greater Foreſight; but the Younger had more Vivacity of Spirit and readineſs of Apprehenſion. The Elder was readier to foreſee a Danger, and invent Objections, and the Younger quicker at anſwering them, and finding Salvoes for all Difficulties. The Elders Converſe was ſmoother, but more reſerved; the Younger as he was the Brisker, ſo he was the more frank, and

was

was no leſs beloved: And in fine, the Elder ſpoke more gracefully, but the other had the better Pen.

He was moſt aſſiduous in his Imployment, to procure not only favourable Anſwers, but ſpeedy Diſpatches to all thoſe who made their Addreſſes by him to the King. He frankly told every one whether he would ſerve them or not, for where he meant no ſuch thing, he never diſguiſed it with general Aſſurances: But where he promiſed Service he needed no new Applications, either to refreſh his Memory or quicken his Diligence; and he was wont to ſay, he was ſure there was no Perſon, whoſe ſight His Majeſty had ſo little Reaſon to deſire as his, ſince he never ſaw him, when there was any poſſibility of ſpeaking to him apart, but he moved him in one Suit or another. But his Confidence was grounded on this, that he gave the King no trouble with any deſires of his own: His Reality this way obliged his Friends exceedingly, who uſed to complain, that though his Brother, as far as his own kindneſs could go, was moſt obliging, yet he was averſe from doing them ſuch Services with the King as they deſired of him.

He had a Vivacity of Apprehenſion beyond any about him, with a great conception of Things, and quickly penetrated into Mens Thoughts and Deſigns. His Diſcourſe was ſhort, but nervous, witty, and full of Stings, when he had a mind to reflect on others; but he was ſoon heated, and kept his Fire pretty long

long. There was not a mean Thought lodged in his Breaſt, all his deſigns being noble and aſpiring, which with the fervour of his Nature, made him paſs for a very proud Man among his Enemies. He was indeed Gallant and Generous to all Degrees, and none alive was capable of a higher ſenſe of Honour and Gratitude, nor more unable to ſtoop to any thing that was ſordid or mean.

For his Religion he was a true zealous Proteſtant, and his Opinions about our unhappy Differences at Home were the ſame with his Brothers. He had a great diſlike of Church-Mens pretending to meddle in Civil Affairs, finding it hurtful on all Hands; and therefore was much for confining them to their own Work. In thoſe Times when Things were like to run a riſque in the Committee of Eſtates, moſt commonly the ſenſe of the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly was brought in to declare how far Religion and the Covenant was concerned in any particular that was under Debate; and this ſwayed ſome, and over-awed others: But nothing was more odious to him than this Practice, and he wiſely foreſaw, and often ſaid, that nothing could bring ſuch a ſtain on Religion, in the minds of thoſe who were too inclinable to receive bad impreſſions of it, as the officious and overmeddling Tempers of hot and indiſcreet Church-Men. His Practice in Devotion, in ſome of his laſt Years, ſhewed him to be ſincerely Religious.

He

He had for many Years great Convictions on his Conſcience of the true Excellence of Religion, but humane infirmity prevailed too much over him, and he was not free of Blemiſhes: Yet he found he had to do with a merciful God, who gave him ſuch a Victory over thoſe Snares, and ſuch tender Impreſſions of his Love, that long before his Death he was come to have that Aſſurance of the Divine Goodneſs, that he was not only ready and willing, but longing for Death.

The Afflictions he lay under in his laſt Years, contributed not a little to the raiſing that ſenſe of things in him, theſe having been the ſaddeſt Years *Scotland* ever ſaw, in which he was overlaid both with publick and perſonal Troubles. Thoſe which went neareſt his Heart, and wounded it in its moſt ſenſible part, were firſt the King's Murther, and then his Brothers; neither was he capable of ſo mean a thought, as to receive any allay to the laſt by the Dignity and Fortune which thereby deſcended on him. The Friendſhip betwixt them had continued to the end ſacred and inviolated, and as the Elder tranſmitted not only his Eſtate and Honour, but left alſo his perſonal Eſtate, Jewels, Plate, and Pictures (which were of great value) to his Brother, giving only Portions to his Daughters, truſting even the Writings for theſe to his Brother, to leſſen them as he found the Eſtate might bear it; ſo the Younger judged

himſelf bound in Honour and Gratitude to return ſuch of thoſe as were ſtill in his Power, (many of them having been either diſpoſed of for defraying his neceſſary Expence in that troubleſome Time, or loſt in the Invaſion of *Scotland*) again to his Brothers Daughter, whereby he proſecuted his Brothers firſt Deſign, who had provided the Honour and Fortune to deſcend on his own Daughters if his Brother had no Sons. And ſo much did he honour his Brother's Memory, that Injuries done himſelf raiſed not ſuch irreconcilable Reſentments in him as thoſe had been done his Brother: Neither was any Addreſs ſo welcome to him, as that which came with a reſpective Remembrance of his Brother; and he entailed his Friendſhip for him on his Daughters, who have acknowledged to the World, by a learned Hand, that in him they met with the tenderneſs of a Father, the kindneſs of a Friend, and every thing that was generouſly noble and obliging. And ſo deſirous was he to have his Neece enjoy her Father's Eſtate and Dignity, that at his going to *England* he profeſſed he was glad he had no Sons to lie in her way to it; adding, that if he had fourty Sons, he rather wiſhed it to her, then he could do to any of them.

As for thoſe Princes whom he ſerved, he had even as much Juſtice from Fame as his Heart could wiſh, ſince none did ever faſten any ill Characters on him in that particular,

except

except that little which was done at *Oxford*. But he who of all living knew his Brother beſt, acknowledged that in this he had the better of him only by Fame, and that the longer he lived he diſcerned the more Wiſdom in his Deſigns, and honeſty in all his Counſels: but that which made the Difference was, that his Temper was more forward, and he often ſpoke out thoſe Reſentments which his Brother either had not with ſo much Paſſion, or choſe to bury in his Breaſt.

Nothing did ſo much ſupport his Spirit under the heavy Preſſure that lay over it, as the deſire he had to preſerve his Life for his Majeſties Service, of which he was prodigal, when he ſaw it uſeleſs to his Maſter, for his Life had been of a great while burdenſome to him: And indeed it was no wonder to ſee Death ſo welcome to one who had ſo little reaſon to deſire to live, and ſo much ground to hope in Death; for when the Troubles, and unjuſt unmerciful Uſage he met with in thoſe Years he ſurvived his Brother, are well looked into, it is a wonder they forced him not to *the horrideſt Reſolutions imaginable*, (uſing his own Words) *and to purſue private and publick Injuries with a mortal Reſentment*: yet his zeal for the King's Service, and the Countries Quiet, over-ruled all other thoughts. From *Scotland* he went to *Holland* where he was ſcarce landed when he heard the ſad and

diſmal news of the King's Murder, nor had he recovered of the extreme Grief that raiſed in him, when he heard likewiſe how his Brother was murthered, which afflicted him beyond Expreſſion; nor did any thing grieve him more then his laying down Arms at *Sterlin*, for when he ſaw too late how they had been abuſed in it, he cenſured it more ſeverely than any of his Enemies could do.

In *Scotland* the Parliament (if that Meeting could ever deſerve that Name, wherein there were ſcarce any of the Nobility preſent) not only condemned the Engagement for the King, but paſſed an Act againſt all the Engagers, ranking them in ſeveral *Claſſes*, whence it got the Name of an *Act of Claſſes*, whereby they were excluded from all Offices, publick Truſt, and Vote in Parliament: Nor were they ever to be admitted to Truſt, till they had ſatisfied the Church by a publick profeſſion of their Repentance for their Acceſſion to the unlawful Engagement, as it was then called, and were by them recommended to the the Favour of the State; and thoſe that ruled were reſolved to readmit none, but ſuch as would depend on them, and adhere to their Intereſts. They were alſo particularly ſevere to the Duke, for breaking Confinement, and leaving *Scotland* without their Paſs. The Duke upon his arrival in *Holland* offered his Service to his Maſter, which he received and entertained with ſo much Royal Goodneſs,

as

as if the Affection and Confidence of their Maſters had been the Inheritance of theſe Brother's; and what the late King was to the Elder, his Majeſty was to the Younger, who continued to the laſt to honour his Memory with the higheſt Commendations. And indeed his Royal Favour was not miſplaced on One that was either unſenſible or ungrateful, for never Subject ſerved Maſter with more Honeſty, Zeal, and Affection; ſo that no conſideration either of Hope or Fear wrought ſo much on him, as the Affection he bore his Maſter: Neither expreſſed he anxiety for any thing at his Death, ſave for his Majeſties Perſon, fearing leſt he might fall into their cruel Hands, whom he knew to be thirſting for his Blood.

He ſtayed in the *Netherlands* till his Majeſty came to *Scotland*; and though thoſe that governed there were ſo much his Enemies, that they would have the King ſtand to their *Act of Claſſes*, and made that one of the Articles of their Treaty at *Breda*: Yet the Duke ſeeing the deſparate Poſture the King's Affairs were in, and that no viſible hope remained unleſs his Majeſty ſettled fully with *Scotland*, was not only ſatisfied to conſent to that ſevere Demand, but did earneſtly preſs his Majeſty to agree with that Kingdom, whatever might become of him. Many were for extremer Methods, and preſſed the Duke to concur for making a forcible Impreſſion

preſſion upon *Scotland*: But he well foreſaw the miſchief of that Courſe, and how little could be promiſed from it; for as no great Concurrence could be expected in the condition of things were then driven to, ſo all that could follow, even on a little ſucceſs, was to expoſe the Country to the rage of a prevailing Army from *England*, againſt which *Scotland* entirely united would have had Work enough, though it had not been weakned by a Civil War; and therefore he was againſt all Diviſions, which might alſo have tempted the prevailing Party to join with the *Engliſh* Army.

The Treaty with the *Statiſh* Commiſſioners was held at *Breda*, where things ſtuck long, their Demands being very high and uneaſy to the King. The chief of the Commiſſioners was the Earl of *Caſſils*, who did truly love the King and Kingly Government; ſo that when the Uſurpation proved ſucceſsful by the Conqueſt of *Scotland* afterwards, though the Uſurper ſtudied by the greateſt Offers he could make to gain him to his Party, conſidering the high eſteem he was in for his Piety and Vertue, could never prevail ſo far as to make him advance one ſtep towards him, even in outward Civilities: Yet he was a moſt zealous Covenanter, but of ſo ſevere a Vertue, and ſo exactly ſtrict to every thing, in which he judged his Honour and Conſcience concerned, that he would not abate the leaſt

leaſt of his Inſtructions, but ſtood his Ground ſo that nothing could beat or draw him out of it. But he did it with much Fairneſs and Candor, that the King, though troubled enough with the Difficulties it bred him, yet was much taken with the Openneſs of his Proceeding with him, and conceived ſo high an Opinion of his Fidelity to him, that nothing could ever change or leſſen it: So excellent a thing is Ingenuity that it begets an eſteem wherever it is to be found, even when we are moſt diſpleaſed with the Inſtances in which it appears. The next in the Commiſſion was the Earl of *Lothian*, who though he was deeply engaged in Friendſhips and Intereſts with the Marquis of *Argyle*, yet was of a Noble Temper, had great Parts, and a high ſenſe of Honour. The other Commiſſioners depended on them, and went eaſily along with them in what they agreed to.

The Commiſſioners ſeeing the good Offices the Duke did, were willing he ſhould return with his Majeſty to *Scotland*, *Anno* 1650, and enjoy the common Priviledges of *Scotchmen*, only to be ſecluded from all publick Truſt, and from his Vote in Parliament. But the leading-Men in *Scotland* judged it neceſſary for the Peace of that Kingdom, that the Duke might not return with his Majeſty, and ſent Orders for ſtopping his Voyage. Theſe Orders came not to *Holland*, before moſt of the Commiſſioners were aboard, only the

the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Lothian* were aſhore when they got them; they were much troubled to get ſuch ſevere Commands, obliging them to break the Treaty they had ſo lately ſigned. But ſince moſt of their fellow-Commiſſioners were gone, and they without them made not a *Quorum*, they could do nothing, ſo that the Duke was ſuffered to return to *Scotland* with the King. But at his Majeſties Landing, one appointed by the Parliament to put him from the King, required him to withdraw: And when the King preſſed the Commiſſioners with the Articles of their Treaty, they ſaid they could not oppoſe an Order of Parliament. The King was much offended with this, and was inclining to reſent it, both as an unworthy Uſage and as a breach of Treaty: But the Duke told him, that at that time *Argyle* was the Perſon who was moſt able to render him conſiderable Service in *Scotland*; wherefore, though he knew he deſigned nothing ſo much as his Ruin, yet he adviſed his Majeſty to uſe all poſſible means to gain him abſolutely to his Party, and to neglect himſelf as much as *Argyle* deſired, and not at all to ſeem much concerned in him; adding, that he knew when his Majeſties Affairs were in a better Poſture, he would not forget his faithful Servants. It was in vain for him to claim either the benefit of the Treaty at *Sterlin*, or *Breda*, Intereſt and Jealouſy prevailing more with

with theſe who then ruled than any other Tie; ſo the Duke was forced to retire to the Iſle of *Arran*, where he ſtayed till the end of *January* 1651: Nor could his Petitions with the Interceſſions of his Friends prevail for allowing him the Liberty of coming to fight for his King and Country, ſo that he was forced to ſtay at *Arran* till the beſt half of *Scotland* was loſt.

But God who had ſuffered the Church-Party to prevail long, did blaſt their Force and Succeſs at once; for *Cromwel* upon the Parliament of *Scotland*'s bringing home their King, entred it with his Army. The Church-Party as they had no mind to invade *England* on the King's account, ſo were very careful to declare that their Arming againſt *Cromwel* was not on the King's account, which they excluded from the ſtate of the Quarrel by an Act of their Committee; and declared that they ſtood only to their own Defence, againſt that Hoſtile Invaſion which was contrary to their Covenant aud Treaties. They were alſo very careful to model their Army, ſo that neither Malignant nor Engager that had been of the King's Party, ſhould ſerve in it; for though when his Majeſty came to their Army at *Leith*, the Souldiers were much animated by his Preſence, and with the coming of two thouſand brave Gentlemen with him to the Army, yet the Leaders of that Party pretended, that ſince the Malignants were in their Army God would

be provoked to give them up to the Enemy, and therefore forced the King to leave the Army. They alſo forced away all thoſe Gentlemen who came and offered their Service. I ſhall not purſue this account further, but only add, that notwithſtanding all their Confidence of their Army, and though they had the Enemy at great diſadvantages, ſo that he and all other his Officers gave themſelves for gone; yet they were with very little Oppoſition broken and routed near *Dunbar* on the third of *September* 1650, and even thoſe who two Years before had inſulted over the Misfortunes of the Engagement, were now themſelves taught, how ill an Argument Succeſs was to evince the Goodneſs of a Cauſe.

This procured a great change in the Counſels of *Scotland*, for by that time the honeſter, and better part of the Clergy were by the Murther of the King, and the other Proceedings in *England*, filled with diſtaſt and horror at them, and began to think how defective they had hitherto been in their Duty to the King, and therefore reſolved to adhere more faithfully to it in all time coming. Others of the Church-Party did alſo ſee, that as *Cromwel* was ſetting up a Commonwealth in *England*, ſo they found many of the forwarder amongſt themſelves very much inclined to it in *Scotland*. This divided them from the other violent Party, and made them join more cordially with the King, and be willing to receive his other faithful Servants

to

to oppoſe the common Enemy; therefore it was brought under debate, if the *Act of Claſſes* that excluded them from Truſt, ſhould not be reſcinded, and all Subjects allowed to enjoy their Priviledges, and ſuffered to reſiſt the Common Enemy: after a long debate it was carried in the Affimative, yet none were to be received but upon particular Applications and Profeſſions of Repentance. The Commiſſion of the Kirk being alſo asked their Opinions, declared, that in ſuch an Exigency, when the Enemy was Maſter of all on the South of *Forth* and *Clide*, all ſenſible Perſons might be raiſed for the Defence of the Country. This was called the Reſolution of the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly, and was ratified by the ſubſequent General Aſſembly. But againſt this many Miniſters proteſted, and from thence aroſe great Heats and Diviſions among thoſe of the Kirkmen, who owned the publick Reſolutions, and thoſe who proteſted againſt them, the one being called the *Publick-Reſolutioners*, and the other *Proteſters*. And now all Churches were full of pretended Penitents, for every one that offered his Service to the King, was received upon the publick profeſſion of his Repentance for his former Malignancy, wherein all ſaw they were only doing it in compliance to the peremptory Humour of that time,

It was about the end of *January* that the Duke was ſuffered to come and wait on the

King; but at that time *Cliddiſdale*, with the other Places where his Intereſt lay, were in the Enemies Hands, who had put Garriſons in *Hamilton*, *Douglaſs*, *Carnwath*, *Boghall*, and other Houſes of that Country. Yet the Duke got quickly about him a brave Troop of about an hundred Horſe, made up of many Noblemen and Gentlemen who rode in it, a-among whom were divers Earls and Lords, whoſe Lands being alſo poſſeſſed by the Enemy, they could do no more than hazard their own Perſons in his Majeſties Service; the reſt were his Vaſſals and Gentlemen of his Name: And they were commanded under him by a gallant Gentleman, Sir *Thomas Hamilton* of *Preſto*, whom he ſent with 18 Horſe to *Cliddiſdale*, to try if the Enemy could be catched at any diſadvantage, and the People of the Country raiſed for the King. The Enemy kept ſo good Guards, and was ſo ſtrong at *Hamilton*, that he could not fall in there; therefore he went to *Douglas*, where he took about 80 Horſe that belonged to the Garriſon but could not ſurprize the Houſe, for it was too ſtrong to be taken without Cannon. He likewiſe took all the Horſe that belonged to the Garriſon at *Boghall*, and killed twenty Souldiers, This made the Enemy keep cloſer at *Hamilton*, upon which the Duke reſolved to raiſe ten Troops of Horſe, and appointed Sir *Thomas Hamilton* Lieutenant-Collonel; but the Enemies Garriſons gave great interruptions to his Deſigns.

At

At that time the Enemy landed at *Innerkeething* in *Fife*, and the great loſs the King had there, did both raiſe the Enemies boldneſs, and much daunt his faithful Friends: For now *Cromwel* was betwixt his Majeſty and the Northern Counties of *Scotland*, which were both moſt affectionate to his Service, and from whence he was to expect Proviſions and Supplies; ſo that it was not poſſible for the King to maintain the War any longer in *Scotland*, and therefore he reſolved on a March to *England*, being put in hopes of great Acceſſions of force to his Army from the Royal Party there: And this gave a trial to the Fidelity and Courage of many of the *Scotiſh* Nation: But too many looking on the Attempt as deſperate, being more careful of their Lives and Fortunes than to hazard any thing in the King's Service, ſhrunk away, though divers of them had Charges in the Army. Againſt theſe baſe Deſerters of their King and Country, the Duke was moved with ſuch juſt Indignation, that he vowed if ever he returned with Life and Liberty, he ſhould make theſe in whom he had intereſt anſwer for it.

The Duke waited on the King in the whole March, and gave Order that the Troops which he had levyed ſhould follow with all poſſible haſte. Seven of them came up, and joyned the Army at *Moffet*, but the interruptions the Enemy gave, made that the reſt could not be raiſed; nor were theſe Troops full. The Duke welcomed them with

with great affection, and assured them they should be as dear to him as his own Life, and that if God blessed the King with Success, he should be very careful to see them rewarded as they should deserve: But seeing they made in all but betwixt two and three hundred, he feared too many Standards would make them look like the remains of a broken Army; and therefore he set up only his own Standard, and so turned his small Regiment into a great Troop, and marched on with the Army.

When the Army came to *Warington-Bridge*, and beat *Lambert* from it, the Duke Commanded the Brigade (where his Horse were) that was in the Reer of the Foot; but that and the other Brigade of Horse being commanded to halt, he sent his Major to the Lieutenant-General, for Orders to March, that the Enemy might be vigorously pursued: but the Lieutenant-General would have the Foot lead over first, and so that Occasion was lost, which he with many others did infinitely regrate with great demonstrations of Grief. Then it was debated, which way the King should hold: The Duke pressed that they should March streight to *London*, which was the desire of the whole Army, and that which *Lambert* apprehended, for in his Retreat he took the *London*-Road. There were also many other Reasons used to enforce it, but the *English* Nobility and Gentry, who were in the Army, and the Earl of *Derby*,

Derby, who with many Gentlemen came to the Army that Night, gave many Reaſons againſt that March. The Duke ſeeing them ſo much againſt it, though his Reaſon could not go along with theirs; yet that he might not oppoſe ſo many brave and Loyal Gentlement, went out of the King's Tent, for he would not by his Preſence ſeem to conſent to that which he apprehended would prejudice the King's Service: But was ſo far from diſparaging the other Counſels, and enhancing the value of his own, that he went and laboured with all the Officers of the Army, to to engage them to a cheerful Concurrence in the Reſolutions that were taken, and ſtudied even to perſwade them to conſent to thatwhich had not yet prevailed on his own Reaſon.

The Reſulution being taken to go to *Worceſter* and ſtorm it, the Army marched, and when they came near the Town, ſome Horſe and Dragoons which were ſent thither by *Lambert* two Days before, retired to *Gloceſter*; and the King entred *Worceſter* with two Bodies of Foot, the reſt Marched through the Town over the *Severn*. The Day after the King came to *Worceſter*, the Duke with many of the Nobility and Gentry went to the Croſs, and himſelf read the King's Proclamation, and cauſed the Mayor of the Town to proclaim it; but God having deſigned to ſet his Majeſty on the Throne of his Anceſtors by his own Immediate Hand, all hopes of ſupplies from *Wales*, or other well-affected

Places,

Places, vaniſhed. *Cromwel* alſo followed the King from *Scotland* in great Marches, having left General *Monk* (ſince the famous Duke of *Albemarle*) there with an Army to ſubdue the little ſtrength that remained for maintaining his Majeſties Intereſt in that Kingdom. The Day after *Cromwel* came before *Worceſter*, the King called a great Council of War, to conſider what was to be done, where the Duke ſpake firſt, and after he had in as ſhort terms as was poſſible opened the ſtate of Affairs, he ſaid one of three things muſt be done; Either they were to March out and fight, to lie ſtill and provide for a Siege, or to March to *London*, the other ſide of the *Severn* being then free. He propoſed the Difficulties of all theſe, yet ſaid one of them was to be done, and deſired that his Majeſty might put it to the Debate, which of them was fitteſt. None propoſed a fourth Expedient. But the Duke did afterwards ſuggeſt, if the Marching into *Wales* might be adviſeable; but as they were in the Debate, before the half of the Council of War had delivered their Opinions, there came an Alarm to the Door that diſſolved the Meeting. This was four Days before the Fight, the Enemy grew daily ſtronger, and raiſed the whole Country to his Aſſiſtance; and as the King's ſmall Army was utterly diſproportioned to their Strength, ſo the Courage of the Souldiers did daily abate; and the Duke as he clearly foreſaw the ruin of the King's Affairs at that time,

time, and the Captivity of his Country that would follow; ſo he deſired not to out-live it, which he plainly told ſome of his more intimate Friends, though for incouraging others, he put on a great appearance of Cheerfulneſs in his looks: But apprehending that his End drew nigh, notwithſtanding all the Attendance he was obliged to at Court, and with the Army; yet he ſet off large Portions of his Time for reviewing his Life, and fitting himſelf for Eternity; and when his Imployment all Day denied him the conveniency of ſuch long and ſerious Retirements as that Work required, he took it from his ſleep in the Night, being more ſolitious for reſt to his Mind than to his Body.

In theſe Exerciſes he continued till it was almoſt Morning; and then threw himſelf down on the Bed, where he did not lie above two Hours when he was called on to make ready, and aſſoon as he was Dreſſed and Armed, he waited on the King into the Field.

The Account of that Engagement is not here to be offered, ſince nothing belongs to this Work but that wherein the Duke was concerned. His Regiment was commanded to charge a Body of Horſe and Foot, that ſtood near two pieces of Cannon not far from the *Severn*: But there were two great Bodies of Foot ſtanding on each ſide of the Lane, through which they were to go, and theſe firing on them as they paſſed, they received

great loſs; but having got through the Lane, there was no coming to the Enemy, who ſtood in a cloſe Ground, but through a Gap in the Hedge, through which the Lieutenant-Colonel with a very inconſiderable Number Charged, and the Enemy gave Ground, and left the Cannon in their Hands, the Horſe retiring to *Hacker*'s Regiment, who came up and Charged, and was gallantly received by the Lieutenant-Colonel and the Dukes Regiment: But ſome Foot brought to line the Hedges on their Flanks, fired ſo on them that they were forced to retire. The Duke being near the King's Perſon, and obſerved all that paſſed, inquired who they were? and being told it was his own Regiment, he thought it unworthy of him to be too far from Danger, when they were ſo put to it, and galloped all alone from the King to the place where they were, when he found them retiring, and did all he could either by Words or Threatnings to make them keep their Ground. But the Enemy did ſtill bring up more Foot, and fired inceſſantly on them, and moſt of the Officers were either wounded, or had their Horſes killed under them; particularly the Lieutenant-Colonel, who had all the while Charged very gallantly, had his Horſe ſhot under him, and ſo were beaten back. The Duke himſelf kept in the Reer, with ſuch as were in a Condition to wait on him, to the great hazard of his Perſon, and gave ſignal Demonſtrations of a high

high Courage: But the Enemy following him close in great Bodies, he commanded some Foot to make good the Hedge against them, and rode up and down among them, and encouraged them to stand and die for the Service of their King, and the Honour of their Country; and did several times Charge down to the Hedges, so that all were astonished at such daring and unusual Valour. But the Enemy pressing on, he rode again with his Pistol in his Hand to the Hedge, where he received the fatal Shot that quite disabled him. His Majesty hearing of the extreme Danger he exposed himself to in these Charges, and knowing well how great a loss he would suffer, if so brave a Commander and such a wise and faithful Counsellor were killed, sent once and again to call him away from that hazard he was in, but he chose to prefer his Majesties Service to these most obliging Commands; yet being disabled by the Wound he got, he was forced to retire to the Town. The total routing of the Army quickly followed, and by the taking of *Worcester* that Night he fell into the Enemies Hands.

When he came to his Lodgings his Wound was searched by the King's Surgeon, Mr. *Kincaid*, who found that by a Slug-shot the Bone of his Leg, a little below the Joint, was crushed, and so broken that many Splinters with the Bullet were taken out at first dressing, and many more fragments were at several other dres-

ſings ſeparated from the Bone; and the Surgeon told him, the only way to ſave his Life, was to loſe his Leg. But *Trappam*, *Cromwel*'s Surgeon, being ſent by him to wait on the Duke, aſſured him there was no hazard. Two Days after the Duke was wounded, the King's Phyſician, Sir *Robert Cunningham*, being found out among the Priſoners, was brought to him, who found he had loſt much Blood by his Wound, and therefore opened a Vien in his Arm, which diverted the courſe of the Blood. Then the Duke asked his Opinion about himſelf, who told him plainly, there was no hope of ſaving his Life but by cutting off his Leg, and if that were done ſome hopes remained; but *Trappam* having aſſured him there was no hazard, he was not willing to ſubmit to ſo ſevere a Sentence, till he were further ſatisfied of its being abſolutely neceſſary: Therefore he ſent to *London* for Mr. *Dickſon*, who was an expert Surgeon, in whom he had great Confidence, and came to him with all poſſible haſte; but it was too late, for the Dukes Strength and Spi were ſo waſted that they durſt not adventure on the Operation. During theſe few Days of the Dukes Life, he expreſſed great Compoſure of Mind, and a chearful willingneſs to welcome his approaching End, which drew on apace; nor ſhewed he anxiety or concern in any thing but his Majeſties Preſervation, for which a. he prayed conſtantly, ſo he ſtill enquired News concerning him, and bleſſed God

God that he heard none, judging from that that he was ſafe and had eſcaped.

On the 11th of *September* the Duke's Pulſe failed quite, which he diſcerned firſt himſelf, and called for his Phyſician to whom he ſaid he felt no pain nor ſickneſs, but could not diſcern his Pulſe to move, and no more did his Phyſician; but imputing it to malignant Vapors riſing from his Wound, he gave him ſome Cordials which made no Change upon him: And then his Spirits quitting all their Natural Operations retired to his Brain, and his Intellectual Faculties, his Memory, Reaſon, and Expreſſion continued in their Vigor for the ſpace of twelve Hours; after that, his Voice was likewiſe entire and ſtrong. The total ceſſation of the Arterial Motion, together with a Marmoreous Coldneſs, that was creeping upon him by degrees from all his Extremities, made his Phyſician warn him that Death was approaching; the Duke anſwered, that from the beginning he apprehended his Wound would prove Mortal, but he could not think Death was ſo near him, ſince he found neither Sickneſs, Pain, Fainting, nor Oppreſſion trouble him. He had been during his Sickneſs oft waited on both by the Miniſters of *Worceſter*, and the Miniſters who waited on the King's Army, whom he called for; and as they prayed and miniſtred Divine Conſolations to him, ſo they were much comforted and edified with the Chriſtian Courage and Joy he expreſt in theſe his laſt

laſt and cloſeſt Conflicts. From ſix in the Morning on the 12 of *September* he lay quiet, ſpeaking little, but was obſerved all the while by thoſe who looked often to ſee what he was doing, that he was well imployed in mental Prayer and devout Ejaculations. About nine a Clock being asked by his Phyſician how he was, he anſwered his Heart was free of Sickneſs; but added, *That he ſhould tell his Relations in* Scotland, *that he died believing, that through the Merits of the Mediator the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Lord his Righteouſneſs, and through the Infinite Mercies of his God, it ſhould fare with him as with the idle Labourers in the Parable of the Vineyard, who went in at the* 11*th Hour and yet received the Peny; ſo he believed, that though in the laſt Hour of the Day he had entred into his Maſters Service, he ſhould receive his Peny alſo.* From that time he lay quiet, and about twelve a Clock, after three Groans, without any other ſtruggling and Paſſion of Death, he breathed out his Soul, and his Body was interred in the Cathedral Church of *Worceſter*; for though according to his Orders for burying him with his Anceſtors at *Hamilton*, his Servants did move earneſtly that they might have leave to carry his Body to *Scotland*, yet it was flatly denied.

He married, *Anno* 1638, the Lady *Elizabeth Maxwell*, eldeſt Daughter to the Earl of *Dirleton*, and left behind him four Daughters, Lady *Anne*, *Elizabeth*, *Mary*, and *Margaret*, married

married to the Earls of *Southesk*, *Glencairn*, and the *Laird* of *Blair*.

He was succeeded by *Anne* Dutchess of *Hamilton* his Neice, and eldest Daughter to Duke *James*: She married *William* Earl of *Selkirk*, eldest Son of *William* Marquis of *Dowglass*, by his second Wife Lady *Mary Gordon* Daughter to the Marquis of *Huntley*. He was, at the request of the Dutchess, created Duke of *Hamilton*, in 1661; and soon after made Knight of the Garter. The Measures towards the latter end of King *James*'s Reign displeasing him, he appear'd very early in the Interest of the Prince of *Orange* at the *Revolution*, was chose President at the Convention of Estates, and had a very extraordinary Power vested in him by Parliament, of seizing and imprisoning all suspicious Persons; and when the Convention was turned into a Parliament in 1689, he was appointed Commissioner, and Lord President of the Privy-Council of *Scotland*, and was soon after appointed Lord High-Admiral of *Scotland*. In 1693 he was again named Commissioner to the Parliament; he was afterwards made one of the Lords Extraordinary of the Session, and one of the Lords of the Treasury; he died in the Palace of *Holyrood-house*, and was buried at the Burying-place of the Family at *Hamilton*, where there is a stately Monument erected for him.

By *Anne*, his Dutchess aforesaid he had Issue *James* Earl of *Arran*, who succeeded him,

him, born in the Year 1657; Lord *William*, who died in *France* a Batchellor; *Charles* Earl of *Selkirk*; *John*, Earl of *Rutherglen*, *George* Earl of *Orkney*, Lord *Baſil*, and Lord *Archibald*; and three Daughters, Lady *Catherine*, married to the Duke of *Athol*; Lady *Suſan*, married firſt to the Earl of *Dundonnald*, and afterwards to the Marquis of *Tweddal*; and Lady *Margaret*, married to the Earl of *Penmoor*.

He gave great Application to the Publick Buſineſs, and at the ſame time looked carefully after his own; for he was an excellent OEconomiſt, as appeared by his retrieving his Fortune, which had been impoveriſhed by the great Succours raiſed out of the Eſtate, for the Service of King *Charles* I.

This *Anne* his Dutcheſs ſurvived him, and is ſtill living at *Hamilton*; a Lady of extraordinary Merit.

James Duke of *Hamilton* ſucceeded his Father: After his Education at the Univerſity of *Glaſgow*, he ſpent ſome time in Travel, and on his Return, diſcovered ſo much good Senſe, and pleaſant Wit, that he very ſoon became a great Favourite with King *Charles* II. who was an allowed Judge of Men, and by him made one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſties Bed-Chamber.

He was ſoon after appointed his Majeſties Envoy-Extraordinary to the preſent King of *France*, to Congratulate that Prince upon the Birth of the preſent King of *Spain*. He continued

tinued ſome time in *France*, and ſerved two Campaigns under the King as *Aid-de-Camp*, (the late *Dauphine* of *France* and he being ſworn *Aid-de-Camps* at the ſame time) where he gained an univerſal good Character. During this time he continued Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber.

Whilſt he was in *France*, the Nation was unfortunately deprived of their Prince King *Charles* II. an Accident the Duke extremely lamented: But his Succeſſor King *James* II. continued to have the ſame Regard for him his Brother ever had, and named him Envoy-Extraordinary to the Court of *France*; and on his return to *England*, gave him the Command of a Regiment of Horſe in the new Levies formed on *Monmouth*'s Rebellion.

In the Year 1687, the King reviving the Ancient and moſt Noble Order of the Thiſtle, or St. *Andrew*, in *Scotland*, made the Duke one of the Knights thereof, and ſoon after appointed him Maſter of the Wardrobe. He continued with this unfortunate Prince to the laſt; and in the Year 1688, when the Prince of *Orange* landed from *Holland*, marched with him to *Salisbury*, where he was made Colonel of the old *Oxford* Regiment.

From theſe Steps, which proceeded only from the higheſt Notions of Loyalty, he became ſuſpected of complying too warmly with King *James*'s Deſigns and Methods to introduce Popery: But it is apparent to all who knew him, that he had not the leaſt Inclina-

tion to Popery, nor could he ever be induced on any Account to think of changing his Religion; even while the King ſeemed to have the greateſt Influence over him, and he was in as great Credit with his Majeſty as any Subject could well be: As he had no Thoughts which inclined him that way, ſo was it directly contrary to his Intereſt, ſince it is known that the Family have ever been ſuch zealous Proteſtants, that the Entail of the Eſtate cuts out all Papiſts from ſucceeding to it. It is true indeed, that he was one of thoſe who ſigned the Letter in Anſwer to the King's Proclamation ſent to the Privy-Council in *Scotland*, for Liberty of Conſcience, and for Repealing the Laws made againſt Papiſts in that Kingdom; but not with any View to the Introducing of Popery, which would have been one of the laſt things he could ever have been prevailed with to conſent to.

As to his Behaviour at the Revolution, it has been obſerved that he marched with King *James* to *Salisbury*; and after his return from thence, continued to the laſt with that unfortnate Prince, which he looked on as his Duty, for the many eminent Favours he had received from him. This done, according to the Example of the reſt of the Nobility, he waited on the Prince of *Orange*. He excuſed himſelf to the Prince for being one of the laſt that paid him their Compliments; but at the ſame time very frankly told his

his Highneſs, *That if the King had not withdrawn out of the Kingdom, he would have waited on him Sword in Hand.* The Prince made no Anſwer to this; but from that time looked on the Duke as a Man entirely in the Intereſt of King *James:* The effect of which Opinion he ſoon experienced, by having his Regiment of Horſe taken from him. But the Duke did not think that, or any other Cauſe, ſufficient to alter his Loyalty.

When the Prince afterwards aſſembled the *Scottiſh* Lords and Gentlemen, and had informed them of the Reaſons which induced him to hazard ſo great an Undertaking; and they were entering upon the Conſideration of an Addreſs to his Highneſs, to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom *Scotland*, and had choſe the old Duke of *Hamilton* his Father the Preſident of their Aſſembly; his Grace, then only Earl of *Arran*, gave his Opinion in the following manner.

My Lords,

" I have all the Honour and Deference " imaginable for the Prince of *Orange:* I " think him a brave Prince, and that we owe " him great Obligations, in contributing ſo " much for our Delivery from Popery; but " while I pay thoſe Praiſes, I cannot violate " my Duty to my Maſter; I muſt diſtinguiſh " between his Popery, and his Perſon: I " diſlike the one, but have ſworn and pay Al- " legiance to the other, which makes it im-

" poſſible for me to ſign away that, which I " cannot forbear believing, is the King my " Maſter's Right; for his preſent Abſence " from us, by being in *France*, can no more " affect our Duty, than his long Abſence from " us in *Scotland* has done all this while.

My Lords,

" The Prince in his Paper deſires our Ad- " vice; mine is, that we ſhould move his " Highneſs to deſire his Majeſty to return " and call a free Parliament for ſecuring our " Religion and Property, according to the " known Laws of that Kingdom; which, in " my humble Opinion, will at laſt be found " the beſt way to heal our Breaches.

But this Speech, however Loyal it was, was not at all reliſhed by the Aſſembly, and it paſſed in Oppoſition to the Duke's Opinion. Not long after the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange* had been declared King and Queen of *England*, &c. the Duke was ſet on in his Chair, by four or five Men with drawn Swords; but he made ſo good a Defence, with the Aſſiſtance of his Footmen and Chairmen, that thoſe who aſſaulted him were obliged to make their Eſcapes; nor was it ever known who was ſo kind to owe his Grace this Favour.

His unalterable Loyalty to King *James*, made him ſuſpected of holding Correſpondence with the Court of St. *Germains*; and it was not long after this Aſſault, that he, together with

with Sir *Robert Hamilton* and others, was ſent to the *Tower*: And ſo great was the Reſentment againſt him, that he was for ſome time refuſed the benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* Act; but at length was admitted to Bail, the Duke of *Grafton*, Earl of *Feverſham*, &c. being bound each in the Sum of 5000 *l.* for his Appearance.

After this he retired into *Scotland*, where he lived privately, and never intermedled in any publick Affairs till the Year 1698, and not then, but at the requeſt of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, who thought themſelves much injured by the Treatment they met with, in relation to the Settlement at *Darien*.

About this time the Ducheſs his Mother made a ſurrender of her Titles in Favour of her Son (for tho' his Father died about the Year 1695, yet he was not advanced in Honour; that paſſing as well as the Eſtate, by Right of Inheritance to his Mother, as Heir-General to the Houſe of *Hamilton*,) and a Patent was procured from the King, at the Conſent and Requeſt of the Ducheſs, creating him Duke of * *Hamilton*, &c. with Precedency, in the ſame manner as though he had ſucceded thereto by his Mother's Death.

On the Acceſſion of the late Queen, the continuing of King *William's* Parliament in *Scotland*, was very much oppoſed there; and the Houſe being convened, the Duke deſired

* *See all his Titles under his Effigies.*

to

to be heard, and in his own Name, and the Name of thoſe that adhered to him, ſpoke as follows.

" We are come here in Obedience to her " Majeſty's Command, and we are all hear- " tily glad of her Majeſty's happy Acceſſion " to the Throne; not meerly on Account " that it was her undoubted Right, as being " Lineally deſcended from the Ancient Race " of our Kings; but likewiſe, becauſe of the " many Perſonal Vertues and Royal Qualities " her Majeſty was endowed with, which " gave them Ground to hope, that they " ſhould enjoy under her auſpicious Reign, all " the Bleſſings that could attend a Nation, " which had a loving and gracious Sovereign " united with a dutiful and loving People; " that we were reſolved to ſacrifice our Lives " and Fortunes in Defence of her Majeſty's " Right, againſt all her Majeſty's Enemies " whatſoever; and that they had all the De- " ference and Reſpect for her Majeſty's Go- " vernment and Authority, that was due " from Loyal Subjects to their Rightful and " Lawful Sovereign: But that at the ſame " time they acknowledged their Submiſſion to " her Majeſty's Authority, they thought them- " ſelves bound in Duty, by the Vertue of the " Obedience they ow'd to the ſtanding Laws " of the Nation, and becauſe of the Regard " they ought to have for the Rights and Li- " berties of their Fellow-Subjects, to declare " their Opinion as to the Legality of that

" Meeting;

" Meeting; that they did not think them-
" ſelves warranted by Law, to ſit and act
" any longer as a Parliament; and that by
" ſo doing, they ſhould incur the hazard of
" their Lives and Fortunes, if ever their
" Proceedings ſhould come to be queſtion'd
" by a ſubſequent Parliament.

The Duke then read a Paper, which contained the Reaſons of their diſſenting from the Proceedings of the other Members, who thought themſelves impowered to ſit and act as a Parliament; and then his Grace withdrew, and was followed by Seventy nine Members, who adhered to him in the Diſſent. The Words of the Paper which the Duke read in the Houſe before he withdrew, were theſe;

" Foraſmuch as by the fundamental Laws
" and Conſtitutions of this Kingdom, all Par-
" liaments do diſſolve by the Death of the
" King or Queen, excepting ſo far as innova-
" ted by the 17th Act, of the 6th Seſſion of
" King *William*'s Parliament impowering the
" Parliament in being at his Majeſty's Death,
" to meet and act what ſhould be needful for
" the Defence of the true Proteſtant Religion,
" as now by Law eſtabliſh'd, and maintain-
" ing the Succeſſion to the Crown as ſettled
" by the Claim of Right, and for preſerving
" and ſecuring the Peace and Safety of the
" Kingdom. And now ſeeing that the ſaid
" Ends are fully ſatisfied by her Majeſty's
" Succeſſion to the Throne, whereby the

" Religion

" Religion and Peace of the Kingdom is ſe-
" cured; we conceive our ſelves not now
" warranted by this Law to meet, ſit, or
" act, therefore do diſſent from any thing
" that ſhall be done or acted, and thereupon
" take Inſtruments.

Hereupon the Duke took Inſtruments, and craved an Abſtract of his Proteſtation, and Seventy nine Members of the firſt Quality and of the beſt Eſtates in the Kingdom adhered thereto, and withdrew out of the Houſe.

In this, and all other ſucceeding Parliaments he made the moſt conſiderable Figure of any Man of his time; though it is very difficult to ſingle out every little Article he was diſtinguiſhed by: One of his chiefeſt Commendations was, that he never deviated from the Honour and Intereſt of his Country; but in a thouſand Inſtances convinced the World there was no Temptation capable to bribe him upon that Head. He proved very uneaſy to the Miniſtry and the then Meaſures; and though he had all the Diſadvantages imaginable to combat with; yet he ſurmounted them all, and deſervedly procured himſelf the diſtinguiſhing Character of a Patriot of his Country. And had not his Grace been deſerted by ſome who pretended to be his Friends; and of his Sentiments, he had bid fair by his good Conduct, to have prevented the Inconveniences which afterwards befell his Country.

In

In the Parliament where the Union of the two Kingdoms was concluded, he ſhewed a great deal of Ardour in endeavouring to preſerve the Ancient Honour and Rights of his Country, by appearing ſtrenuouſly againſt it in every Step; and though to no Purpoſe, yet he had the Satisfaction to know he had done his Duty; which afterwards afforded him no ſmall Comfort, when he found thoſe People who had been the moſt violent in carrying it on, agree with him, that it was of the moſt pernicious Conſequence to *Scotland.*

After the Concluſion of the Union, he continued in *Scotland* till about the time of the late Invaſion, when, among many other of the Nobility of that Nation, he was taken into Cuſtody of Meſſengers, and brought to *London*; but a very few Days after his arrival there, Her Majeſty and the Miniſtry were ſo well ſatisfied, that he was ſet at Liberty, upon giving Bail, which was ſoon after diſcharged, and he immediately returned to *Scotland* again; and by his Intereſt got himſelf and ſix more of his Friends elected Peers, to ſit in the Houſe of Lords, contrary to the united Intereſt of the then Miniſtry, and on all Occaſions continued to diſtinguiſh himſelf for the Intereſt of the Crown, particularly in the Tryal of Dr. *Sacheverell*, where his Speeches and Votes were conſiſtent and agreeable to his conſtant Principle of ſupporting the Monarchy. In the Year 1710 he was

made Lord-Lieutenant of the County *Palatine* of *Lancaſter*, *Cuſtos Rotulorum* for the ſaid County, and Ranger of her Majeſty's Foreſts there, and Admiral of the Sea-Coaſts, and ſworn of her Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council.

The next Year her Majeſty was pleaſed to create him a * Peer of *Great Britain*, by the Title of Duke of *Brandon*, in *Com. Suff.* and Baron *Dutton*, in *Com. Ceſtr.* In the Preamble to this Patent, (which bears date 10 *Sept.* 1711, 10 Q. *Anne*) her Majeſty takes particular Notice of his near Relation to the Royal Family, and of the uninterrupted Loyalty and Fidelity payed to her Royal Predeceſſors by the Duke's Anceſtors, from which he himſelf had never ſwerved.

Upon the Death of the Earl *Rivers* in 1712, he was made Maſter General of the Ordnance, and ſoon after elected one of the Knights Companions of the moſt Noble Order of the Garter: And though his Grace met with conſiderable Oppoſition, and had a Precedent againſt him; yet he prevailed with her Majeſty to allow him to keep both Orders; and her Majeſty was ſo much ſatisfied with the reaſonableneſs of it, that ſhe was pleaſed to declare, ſhe would wear both Orders herſelf.

---

* Preamble to his Patent. See the *Appendix*. Numb. 1.

In

In 1713, in Concluſion of the Treaty of Peace, he was appointed Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*, an Office he was perfectly qualified for; but before he ſet out for that Kingdom, he was unfortunately killed in a Duel by *Charles* Lord *Mohun*, which happen'd on the 15th of *November* 1712, and the Duke died the ſame Day. The Quarrel was occaſion'd in the manner following.

His Grace being upon *Thurſday* the 13th of *November*, 1712. at Mr. *Orlebar*'s Chambers, in relation to ſome Affairs in Difference between him and Lord *Mohun*; his Grace's Council objected againſt the hearing of one of Lord *Mohun*'s Evidence, the Man having loſt his Memory. To which the Lord *Mohun* replied, The Evidence had as much Honour and Juſtice in him as his Grace. This, tho' very harſh, yet was overlooked by his Grace. But my Lord *Mohun* being heated with Wine, wou'd ſend a Challenge to the Duke, and deſir'd General *Maccartney* to carry it. He call'd ſeveral times at his Grace's Houſe in one Morning, and left a Meſſage with the Porter, that he would call at four in the Afternoon, and deſir'd his Grace would then be at Home; he came again at that Hour, met his Grace, delivered him the Challenge, and they afterwards appointed to meet at *Hyde-Park* the next Day, being the 15th of *November*, at eight in the Morning. They met accordingly, and his Grace, before he

drew his Sword, turned to Gen. *Maccartney*, and told him, Whatever ſhould be the Event of that Day, he was to blame for all. And when Lord *Mohun* preſſed the Seconds might not Fight, General *Maccartney* ſaid they would have their Share. All four drew, the Duke run the Lord *Mohun* quite through the Body, and immediately after, his Grace received a Wound in the right Arm, but his Grace immediately run him in at the right Side of the Groin, and through the left Side of the Thigh. With the violence of this Thruſt Lord *Mohun* fell, and his Grace above him. Colonel *Hamilton*, who had by this time diſarmed General *Maccartney*, ſeeing his Grace lying upon Lord *Mohun*, ran to the Duke's Aſſiſtance; and that he might the more eaſily help him, he flung down both the Swords; and as he was raiſing up my Lord Duke, General *Maccartney* took up his own Sword, came in behind the Duke, and reaching his Sword over his Grace's left Shoulder, ſtabbed him in his left Breaſt, (as Colonel *Hamilton* depoſed. †)

It will appear what Temper and good Diſpoſition his Grace was in, by the following Letter, wrote the Night before this unhappy Duel, to his Son in *Scotland*.

† See the *Appendix*. Numb. 2.

My

My dear Son, *London, Nov.* 14. 1712.

I Have been doing all I could to recover your Mother's Right to her Eſtate, which I hope ſhall be yours. I command you to be dutiful towards her, as I hope ſhe will be Juſt and Kind to you: And I recommend it particularly to you, if ever you enjoy the Eſtate of Hamilton, *and what may, I hope, juſtly belong to you, (conſidering how long I have lived with a ſmall Competence, which has made me run in Debt,) I hope God will put it into your Heart to do Juſtice to my Honour, and pay my juſt Debts: There will be enough to ſatisfie all, and give your Brothers and Siſters ſuch Proviſions as the State of your Condition, and their Quality in* Scotland *will admit of.*

I pray God preſerve you, and the Family in your Perſon. My humble Duty to my Mother, and my Bleſſing to your Siſters. If it pleaſe God I live, you ſhall find me ſhare with you what I do poſſeſs, and ever prove your affectionate and kind Father, whilſt

HAMILTON.

I again, upon my Bleſſing, charge you, that you let the World ſee you do your Part in ſatisfying my juſt Debts.

Addreſſed thus,

To my dear Son,

The Marquis of CLIDSDALE.

How

How great Inſtances of Honour and Juſtice there appears in this Letter, the candid Reader will eaſily acknowledge; no Man perhaps ever excelling the Duke in thoſe ſhining Qualities.

His firſt Marriage was with the Lady *Anne Spencer*, eldeſt Daughter to *Robert* Earl of *Sunderland*, by whom he had no ſurviving Iſſue.

He married to his ſecond Wife *Elizabeth Gerard*, Daughter and ſole Heir to *Digby* Lord *Gerard* of *Bromley*, (a Lady of great Wit and Beauty, and all the fine Accompliſhments that adorn her Sex,) with whom he had a very conſiderable Eſtate in *Lancaſhire* and *Staffordſhire*, and by Her, had Lady *Elizabeth*, who died young; Lady *Katherine*, who died that Day Seven-night the Duke her Father was kill'd; *James* now Duke of *Hamilton* and *Brandon*; Lady *Charlotte*, Lord *William*, Lady *Suſan*, and Lord *Anne*, ſo Chriſtened, in regard of Her Sacred Majeſty Queen *Anne*, who was his Godmother.

But to return, the Government was very active in examining into the manner of the Duke's Death, by ſummoning Evidence, and taking † Depoſitions, and giving other publick Demonſtrations of Concern for the Loſs of ſo great a Subject.

---

† See the *Appendix*. Numb. 3.

In

In the mean time, ſtrict ſearch was made after General *Maccartney*; and her Majeſty, juſtly touched with the Loſs of ſo Noble and Good a Subject, as well as with the means of effecting it, was pleaſed to iſſue out her Royal Proclamation for the apprehending him: To which the Dutcheſs of *Hamilton* added the promiſed Reward of 300 *l.* by an Advertiſement in the *Gazette*, &c. But being concealed, he found means to make his Eſcape beyond Sea. Colonel *Hamilton* having ſurrendered himſelf, was brought to his Tryal, and found Guilty of Manſlaughter only. It is obſervable that the Lady *Mohun* lodged an Appeal againſt him, but this was after ſet aſide.

The Peers of *North Britain* gave a publick Teſtimony of their great Regard to the Memory of the Duke, by uniting in an Addreſs to her Majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to write to all the Kings and States in Alliance with her, not to give Shelter to a Perſon charged with ſo Diſhonourable a Fact, but to cauſe him to be apprehended, if he ſhould retire within their Dominions, and ſend him over to *Great Britain*, that he might come to publick Juſtice.

The Duke was a Man of admirable Parts, and excellent Qualities. He had a ſound Judgment, and quick Apprehenſion, improved by a great Application to Buſineſs; of a Noble Nature and Generous Diſpoſition; he was eaſie of Acceſs, of a moſt flowing Courteſy and Affability to all Men, and very well underſtood the Arts of a Court, and was in his Nature Juſt, Candid,

did, Liberal and Generous, being of a ready Wit, and a pleaſant facetious Humour. His Judgment was profound, He had quick Conceptions and Apprehenſions of Things, was of great Sagacity in Buſineſs and Induſtry not to be tired, being ſeldom in Bed above ſix Hours; he was ſometimes, to a fault, not ſudden in taking Reſolutions; but when taken, no Body executed them with more Vigour and Courage. He had a wonderful Underſtanding in the Natures and Humours of Men, and as great a Dexterity in applying them, being univerſally acceptable, and of great Addreſs and Inſinuation to bring any thing to paſs which he deſired. When he ſpoke in Publick, as he did very often in the Parliament of *Scotland*, he did it very gracefully and pertinently; and though it was in a plain Manner, without the Ornament of Elocution, yet he had a ſtrange way of making himſelf believed, and commonly conducted Things to the Concluſion he deſired: And he was particularly Remarkable for a Readineſs of Expreſſion, upon any ſudden Debate; for no Man delivered himſelf more Advantageouſly and Weightily, and more Efficaciouſly with the Hearers; nor did any Body draw ſo many to a Concurrence with him in his Opinion, whereof there were a great many Inſtances in the Parliament of *Scotland*. He had a very great Spirit of Courage not to be daunted, entirely Fearleſs, which was manifeſted in all his Actions, and in Conteſts with particular Perſons of the greateſt

greateſt Reputation; and none alive was capable of a higher ſenſe of Honour, nor more unable to ſtoop to any thing that was ſordid or mean. He was of undoubted Loyalty to the Crown; that Virtue was Hereditary to him, being deſcended from Anceſtors who had always paid an uninterupted Fidelity to their Princes, and tranſmitted their unblemiſh'd Loyalty as an Entail upon their Family; and this Duke's Grand-father, when he was going to ſuffer for his Loyalty in 1648, has in his *Speech* this Expreſſion, "For my own part, "I do proteſt never to have ſwerved from "that true Allegiance which was due to him, "(King *Charles* I.) and that hath conſtantly "been paid (to my Comfort I ſpeak it) to his "Progenitors, by my Anceſtors, for many "Ages without ſpot or diſhonour, and I hope "will be ſtill by my Succeſſors to his Poſterity. This laſt part was truly fullfilled in the Duke, whoſe Character I write: For never any Man was of more unqueſtionable Loyalty, Duty, and Fidelity to the Crown; and the Princeſs he had the Honour to ſerve, did him all the Juſtice his Heart could wiſh; King *Charles* II. had a mighty Eſteem for him, and frequently told him, he look'd upon the Intereſt of the Royal Family and the Duke's to be inſeparable; ſo long as that flouriſhed, the other would do ſo of conſequence; and if ever that fell into Misfortunes, this would follow the ſame Fate. And when the late Earl of *Sunderland* appeared for the Bill of Excluſion,

the Duke, who had contracted a Friendſhip with that Earl, went to the then Duke of *York*, and expreſſed his Concern, that any Body he had a Friendſhip for ſhould have appeared againſt his Highneſs's Intereſt; and offered if his Highneſs pleaſed, never to converſe with him any more: The Duke's Anſwer was, *No my Lord, continue your Friendſhip; I wiſh no Body converſed with him but ſuch as you; you may perhaps do him good, for I know your Fidelity to my Brother and me, to be ſuperiour to any Temptation.* And indeed his Grace very well deſerved this juſt Opinion of theſe two Princes; for never any Subject ſerved them with more untainted Fidelity than he: And though he did by no means approve of ſome irregular Steps taken in the Reign of the laſt of theſe Brothers; yet he was of Opinion they were not ſufficient Arguments to diſſolve his Allegiance, or make him embrace any Intereſt oppoſite to that of the Crown; and therefore when he was called to a Meeting of the other Peers of *Scotland* that were then in *London*, to concert what Meaſures they ſhould take, he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Addreſſing the then Prince of *Orange* to take the Government of that Country: And though he expreſſed his Diſſatisfaction with ſome late unhappy Steps; yet he propoſed calling back King *James*, and that they might Addreſs him to call a Free Parliament; but the greater Number being of a different Opinion and in different Intereſts, his Propoſal was not

not reliſhed. As to his Country, as he had the greateſt Intereſt in it of any Subject, ſo his Affection to it was far from yeilding to any; but on the contrary, he ſtudied their Advantage before all other Things. He was very well acquainted with the Government and Cuſtoms of his own Country, and the Nature of the People; and was very much converſant in the Hiſtory thereof, and at a conſiderable Expence collected a great many Original Papers and Manuſcripts in relation thereto. It was purely out of regard to that, that he in the leaſt meddled in Publick Affairs, and in a thouſand Inſtances ſhewed no Temptation could prevail upon him, to enter into any Meaſures deſtructive to it. And when the Union between the two Kingdoms was concluded, and upon the point of being Enacted into a Law, he gave a ſignal Inſtance of his Regard to his Country, and ſpoke to this Effect, " My Lord Chancellor, The Union of " the two Kingdoms is now to be Enacted in- " to a Law; I have oppoſed it in every Tit- " tle and Article, as being of Opinion it is " entirely deſtructive to the Intereſt of my " Country, a Conſideration which ſhall al- " ways weigh much with me; and upon " this Reaſon alone have I ſtickled ſo much " againſt it; nothing of Pique or Prejudice " has had the leaſt influence with me; for I " aſſure your Lordſhip, had either of my " dear Maſters King *Charles* II. or the late " King *James*, of ever bleſſed Memory, to both

" of whom I owe the greateſt Obligati-
" ons; of which I ſhall always bear a grate-
" ful Remembrance, and whoſe Commands
" were always to me a Law: Yet my Lord
" had either of theſe Kings been upon the
" Throne, and propoſed and preſſed a Union
" ſo deſtructive and pernicious to my Coun-
" try, I would have then acted the ſame part
" I do now, and oppoſed it with the ſame un-
" alterable Reſolution; and I wiſh your Lord-
" ſhip and others, who have carried on this
" Matter, do not be too ſoon perſwaded of
" the Juſtice of my Reaſoning when it is too
" too late. A Speech entirely worthy of ſuch a Patriot and Prince; and as no Body loved his Country more, ſo he had great Intereſt in the Affections of the People: He was the moſt univerſally eſteemed and beloved of any Man of the Age; and when his Death reached *Scotland*, the whole Nation was in the utmoſt Concern and Grief, and lamented the Loſs of their Common Parent: Every Body went into Mourning, and the Churches were hung with Black: In ſhort, no Body ever died ſo exceedingly lamented by Men of all Qualities, from the Crown to the Peaſant; and it was deſervedly, for he certainly had as many Vertues and as few Faults as any Man. He was an obliging Husband, an indulgent Father, a gracious and good Maſter, and a conſtant Friend.

THE

THE APPENDIX.

Number I.

WHEREAS the Anceſtors of our very Faithful and entirely Beloved Couſin and Councellor, *JAMES* Duke of *Hamilton*, Marquis of *Clidſdale*, Earl of *Arran* and *Lanarch*, Lord of *Polmont*, *Avenn*, *Machanſhire* and *Innerdale*, have very much recommended themſelves to our Royal Predeceſſors of moſt Glorious Memory, by the Nobleneſs of their Birth, Eminent Services, and by their unſpotted Loyalty, even unto Death, and alſo their Proximity in Blood; We taking notice that the ſaid *JAMES* Duke of *Hamilton*, treading in the Steps of his moſt Noble Family, and by his Virtue, and unſhaken Conſtancy and Fidelity, has continu'd to illuſtrate that Affinity by which he is Related to our *Royal Lineage*: That both himſelf may have ſome Monument of our ſingular Benevovolence, and that his Poſterity may be excited by his Grandeur and Dignity, to perform things worthy of ſo great a Name; We have *Decreed* to Adorn and Advance with new Titles the Ancient Honour deſcended to him from his Noble Anceſtors.

Now know ye, &c.

Number

Number II.

The Depoſitions of Colonel Hamilton.

THat on *Saturday* Morning, the 15th Inſtant, Duke *Hamilton* ſent his Servant to Colonel *Hamilton*, deſiring him to get up and dreſs immediately; but before he was half ready, the Duke himſelf came and hurried him into his Chariot ſo ſoon, that he finiſh'd the Buttoning his Waſtcoat there. By that time they had got into *Pall-Mall*, the Duke obſerv'd that the Colonel had left his Sword behind him; whereupon he ſtopt his Chariot, and gave his Footman a Bunch of Keys, with Orders to fetch a Mourning-Sword out of ſuch a Cloſet. At the Return of his Footman, they drove on to *Hyde-Park*, where the Coachman ſtopt, and the Duke order'd him to drive on to *Kenſington*. When they came to the Lodge, they ſaw a Hackney-Coach at a Diſtance, in which his Grace ſaid, *There was ſome body he muſt ſpeak with*; but driving up to it, and ſeeing no body, he ask'd the Coachman, *Where the Gentlemen were whom he brought?* He anſwer'd, *A little before*. The Duke and the Colonel got out in the Bottom, and walk'd over the Ponds Head, when they ſaw the Lord *Mohun* and General *Maccartney* before them. Aſſoon as the Duke came within hearing, he ſaid, *He hop'd he was come time enough*; and *Maccartney* anſwer'd, *In very good time, my Lord*. After this they all jumpt over the Ditch into the Nurſery; and the Duke turn'd to *Maccartney*, and told him, *Sir, you are the Cauſe of this, let the Event be what it will*. *Maccartney* anſwer'd, *My Lord, I had a Commiſſion for it*. Then my Lord *Mohun* ſaid, *Theſe Gentlemen ſhall have nothing to do*

do here; at which *Maccartney* ſaid, *We will have our Share*; then the Duke anſwer'd, *There is my Friend then, he will take his Share in my Dance.* They all drew immediately, and *Maccartney* made a full Paſs at *Hamilton*; which he parrying down with great force, wounded himſelf in his Inſtep; however, he took that Opportunity to cloſe with and diſarm *Maccartney*; which being done, he turn'd his Head, and ſeeing my Lord *Mohun* fall, and the Duke upon him, he ran to the Duke's Aſſiſtance; and that he might with the more eaſe help him, he flung down both the Swords; and as he was raiſing my Lord Duke up, he ſays, That he ſaw *Maccartney* make a puſh at his Grace; that he immediately look'd to ſee if he had wounded him; but ſeeing no Blood, he took up his Sword, expecting *Maccartney* would attack him again; but he walk'd off. Juſt as he was gone, came up the Keepers and others, to the Number of nine or ten, among the reſt *Ferguſon*, my Lord Duke's Steward, who had brought *Bouſſiers*'s Man with him; who opening his Grace's Breaſt, ſoon diſcovered a Wound on the Left Side, which came in between the Left Shoulder and Pap, and went ſlantingly down through the Midriff into his Belly.

Number III.

Joſeph Hippeſly *Porter to Duke* Hamilton, *Swore,*

THat on *Friday*, the 14th in the Morning, Lieutenant General *Maccartney* came in a Chair to ſpeak with his Lord, and told this Deponent had ſome Buſineſs with his Grace; and that he was a Gentleman come out of the *North*, That he wrote

wrote down his Name in his Book, and told his Grace of it; who ask'd what Sort of a Man he was? Whom he deſcrib'd as well as he could: That he likewiſe came again three ſeveral times, and the laſt time about Four a Clock, when he ſaw the Duke, with whom he ſtaid but a ſhort time, and then the Duke complimented him to the Door, and he went away.

John Siſſon *Drawer at the* Roſe-Tavern, *Swore,*

THat on *Friday* Evening, 14th of *November* about Five a Clock, my Lord *Mohun* and another Gentleman were there. The Gentleman ask'd, *Whether Stars and Blue Garters did not uſe the Houſe?* He anſwer'd, *Yes.* Then he asked him, *Whether Duke* Hamilton *did not come there ſometimes?* The Drawer anſwer'd *Yes.* The Gentleman ſaid he would be here in a ſhort time, and when he came he ſhould ſhew him into another Room. The Duke came ſoon after with another Gentleman, and ask'd for General *Maccartney*; who hearing his Grace ask for him, came immediately out to him, and the Duke and he went into a Room together. They bid the Drawer bring a Bottle of *French* Claret, and they two drank part of it. General *Maccartney* returned to my Lord *Mohun*, and in about a Quarter of an Hour the Duke and the other Gentlemen, who ſtaid in another Room while the Duke and General *Maccartney* were together, went away.

John

John Chaboner, *Waiter at the* Bagnio *in* Long-Acre, *Swore,*

THat my Lord *Mohun* coming to the *Bagnio*, he lighted him up Stairs, pull'd off his Stockins and Shoes, and gave him his Morning-Gown: Then my Lord *Mohun* walked up and down in the Room with his Arms folded, and ſeem'd to be Thoughtful, but was very Sober, and ſaid he would go to Bed. General *Maccartney* came there about an Hour after, my Lord being a Bed in the ſame Room. *Maccartney* not liking the Fellow that waited on my Lord *Mohun*, call'd for another, whom he ask'd if he *loved the French?* The Fellow ſaid, *No.* He bid him call him in the Morning at Six a Clock, which he did, and found him ſnoring.

John Reynolds *of* Price's *Lodge in the* Park, *Swore,*

THat hearing of a Quarrel, he and one *Nicholſon* got Staves and ran to part them: That he, *Reynolds*, was within thirty or forty Yards of Duke *Hamilton* and my Lord *Mohun* when they fell. That my Lord *Mohun* fell into the Ditch upon his Back, and Duke *Hamilton* fell near him, leaning over him. That the two Seconds ran in to them; and immediately after them, this *John Reynolds*, who demanded the Seconds Swords, which they gave him without any Reſiſtance. He then wreſted the Duke's Sword out of his Hand; and *Nicholſon* took away my Lord *Mohun*'s, and gave it to *Reynolds*, who carried the four Swords ſome Diſtance from the Parties: He return'd and help'd

to lift Duke *Hamilton* up, who ſtill lay on his Face. He got him up, and he walk'd about thirty Yards; they deſired him to walk farther, and he ſaid he could walk no farther. He was ask'd what became of their Swords? and he ſaid, they had not been out of his Poſſeſſion from the time he took them out of the Parties Hands till the Day they were brought to the Jury.

Joſeph Nicholſon *Labourer, Swore,*

THat *John Reynolds* Drawer at *Price*'s Lodge, came out of the Houſe with two Sticks, bid him throw by his Wheel-barrow and take one of them, for he believed there was a Duel: They ran, and about the diſtance of One hundred and ten Yards from the Gentlemen, they ſaw one there throw of his Cloak, and he and another draw their Swords; two other Gentlemen drew their Swords at the ſame time; the Duke and Lord *Mohun* (whom he knew afterwards to be ſo) made violent Paſſes at each other, and then fell. He was ask'd if the other two fought? He ſaid that they ſtood with their Swords pointed towards each other, but did not ſee them Fight. As ſoon as the Lords were down, the two Gentlemen ran to them, and were about four Yards before *John Reynolds*, he being about four Yards behind *John Reynolds*, by reaſon they fell when they firſt began to run. When *Reynolds* and *Nicholſon* came in, one Second had hold of one Lord's Sword-hand, and the other Second of the other, each of the Second's Swords being in their Right Hands. The Seconds delivered their Swords to *John Reynolds* without any Reſiſtance, and deſired *them to break or bend them*; they bent General *Maccartney*'s, but could not the

the other, and then laid them by: *John Reynolds* took the Duke's, and *Nicholſon* my Lord *Mohun*'s, who ſaid he was wounded, and would deliver his Sword if the Duke would his; he likewiſe heard the Duke's Second ſay, *By G--d my Lord Duke's killed*; and the other ſaid, *By G--d my Lord* Mohun's *killed*; the Former then ſaid, *We have made a fine Mornings Work on it.* Then General *Maccartney*, (as he afterwards appeared to be) took this *Nicholſon* by the Hand, and ſaid to him, *Honeſt Friend, bear witneſs that we endeavoured to part them; and pray remember that I in the Grey Cloaths and Silver-lac'd Hat tell you ſo.* When *Reynolds* had taken up my Lord Duke, *Nicholſon* and General *Maccartney* endeavoured to lift up my Lord *Mohun*. *Nicholſon* ſaid, I believe he is Dead: *Maccartney* anſwered, *God forbid; perhaps his bleeding Inwardly may make him ſick, turn him on his Side, that his Wound may bleed Outwards*; which was done: Then General *Maccartney* deſired that he might be turned on his Belly, which was alſo done: *Nicholſon*, my Lord's Footman, and others, help'd Lord *Mohun* into the Coach by General *Maccartney*'s Direction. He was ask'd how he knew they were Duke *Hamilton* and Lord *Mohun*? He anſwered, by hearing People ſay ſo: He was likewiſe ask'd what became of the other two Gentlemen? He anſwered he could not tell.

John Pennington *Hackney-Coachman, Swore,*

THat on *Saturday* Morning, (*November* 15.) about Seven a Clock he was called from *Bowſtreet* in *Covent-Garden*, to the *Bagnio* in *Long-Acre*, where he took up my Lord *Mohun* and another Gentleman. My Lord *Mohun* bid him

drive to *Kenſington*; but when he came near *Hide-Park* he ordered him to drive in there: They were ſtopped at the Gate; but telling the Keeper they were going to *Price*'s Lodge, he let them in: My Lord then ask'd the Coachman if he knew where they could get any thing that was good, it being a cold Morning? He ſaid at the Houſe near the *Ring*. When they came near the Houſe, they both got out of the Coach, and bid the Coachman get ſome Burnt-Wine at the Houſe while they took a little Walk. He went into the Houſe, and told the Drawer he brought two Gentlemen, who bid him get ſome Burnt-Wine againſt they came back; the Drawer ſaid he would not, for very few came thither ſo ſoon in the Morning but to fight: The Coachman ſaid he believed they were very civil Gentlemen, but however he'd dog them. A Groom rode up to him, and told him, there were two Gentlemen at his Coach, who he ſuppos'd wanted him; he ran back, and found Duke *Hamilton* and another Gentleman there; the Duke ask'd him whom he brought? He anſwered, My Lord *Mohun* and another Gentleman. He ask'd him which way they were gone? He ſhewed them, and ran to the Houſe, telling the Man, that Duke *Hamilton* and a Gentleman followed my Lord *Mohun* and the other Gentleman, and that he feared they were going to fight; he deſired the Man to make all the haſte he could, and bring any Body he could get with Staves to prevent them, for he fear'd there would be Murther, and he'd run before. He got behind a Tree within fifty Yards of them, from whence he ſaw the Duke throw off his Cloak, and my Lord *Mohun* his Coat, and both drew their Swords, making violent Paſſes at each other; upon which they both fell, he being then within thirty Yards of them. He was asked, *Whether the two other Gentlemen drew their Swords? And how far they were*

were from the Lords when they fell? And whether they Fought or not? He answered, they drew their Swords, but did not fight; and that they were some Yards distant from the Lords when they drew, and continued so till they fell. He was ask'd again *if the Seconds fought?* He answered, *They did not*, but ran to the Lords when they fell. Two Men who followed him from the House with Staves were not more than four Yards behind the *Seconds*; which two Men with the Staves demanded their Swords, which they readily delivered. He being asked which of the Lords was uppermost? He said, *he could not tell*; he then ran for his Coach. My Lord *Mohun*'s Footman and the two Men put my Lord into this *Pennington*'s Coach; my Lord being almost Dead, his Second bid him carry him to his Lodgings in *Marlbro'-street*: The Coachman ask'd him who must pay him? He said the Footman. The Coachman took him by the Sleeve, and said, He brought him as well as my Lord, and that he shou'd pay him; then he gave him half a Crown: He was ask'd if he knew who that Gentleman was? He said, 'twas General *Maccartney*, the Footman having told him so as they were carrying my Lord *Mohun* to *Marlbro'-street*.

John Lesly *Footman to Duke* Hamilton, *Swore*,

THat the Duke sent him to Colonel *Hamilton*'s Lodgings at the *Golden Peruke* at *Charing-Cross*, to desire him to get up and dress him, for his Lord would come in his Coach and call him. Being return'd back, he found the Duke was just getting into his Coach, and he got up behind. The Duke then drove to the Colonel's Lodgings, and went up to him: Soon after they both came down together, got into the Coach, and bid

bid them drive to St. *James*'s Houſe, but ſtopp'd the Coach at the Corner of St. *James*'s Square, where my Lord *Portland* lives, and the Footman coming down from behind the Coach, my Lord Duke gave him a Bunch of Keys out of his Pocket, and bid him go to ſuch a Cloſet, and bring his Mourning Sword, which he did, and gave it into the Coach to Colonel *Hamilton*, and Colonel *Hamilton* gave his Sword out, and bid the Footman give it to the Boy behind the Coach. He then ordered the Coachman to drive to the upper End of St. *James*'s Street; when he came there he bid them drive them directly to *Kenſington*; and when they came into *Hyde-Park* the Duke went out of the Coach in the Road that goes to *Kenſington*, over-againſt *Price*'s Lodge, and walk'd over the Graſs, and between the two Ponds. When he went out of his Coach he charged his Coachman, Footman, and Colonel *Hamilton*'s Boy, to go and ſtay at the Corner of the *White Pales*. The Footman thinking his Grace long, went towards the Place where he ſat them down, and there firſt met General *Maccartney* walking towards *Kenſington*; and immediately after he met Colonel *Hamilton*, and asking him for his Lord, he told him, *This was the worſt Morning he ever ſaw, for he feared his Lord was mortally wounded.* The Footman ask'd by whom? Colonel *Hamilton* anſwered, *My Lord* Mohun. Then the Colonel asked the Footman *where his Lord's Coach was?* He anſwered him, *Near the* White Pails *near* Kenſington; he deſired the Footman to walk faſt, and ſhew him to it; accordingly they haſtened to it. He was ask'd how far General *Maccartney* was before them? The Footman anſwered, *That he was in ſight, walking towards* Kenſington.

Rice

Rice Williams, *my Lord* Mohun's *Footman, Sworn,*

THat on *Thurſday, November* 13th, his Lord went to Mr. *Olebar* a Maſter in *Chancery*'s Chambers, where he met Duke *Hamilton*; he heard them talk angrily; the Door at which he waited being open, he farther heard the Duke, at the reading (as he ſuppos'd) of Mr. *Whitworth*'s Depoſition, ſay, That the Evidence he had given had neither Truth nor Juſtice in it. To which his Lord replied, *He knew Mr.* Whitworth *to be an honeſt Man, and had as much Honour and Juſtice in him as his Grace.* Then the Door was ſhut. Soon after the Duke came down, and ſtaid in the Court to make Water; my Lord *Mohun* came down alſo, and paſſed by the Duke without taking any Notice of him. My Lord ſupp'd at the *Queens-Arms* in *Pall-Mall*, and from thence went home to Bed: He went out about nine the next Morning to General *Maccartney*'s Lodgings, where he ſtaid about half an Hour; Colonel *Joſ. Churchill* lodging in the ſame Houſe with General *Maccartney*, this Deponent took an Opportunity to tell him, *he fear'd his Lord and Duke* Hamilton *would quarrel.* Upon which the Colonel went up to my Lord *Mohun*, and told him what his Footman had ſaid. A little while after my Lord called up this *Williams*, and asked him, *Why he concerned himſelf with his Affairs?* ſaying, *There was nothing in it, and that the Report of ſuch a Thing might do him Harm*; Then he ſent him to the *Globe-Tavern* to beſpeak a Dinner. His Lord and General *Maccartney* went thither about one a Clock, and ſoon after Sir *Robert Rich* and Colonel *Joſ. Churchill* came, where